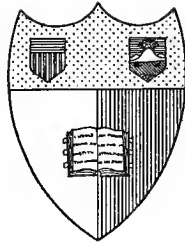


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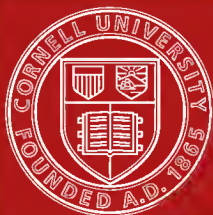
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SHAKESPEARE
AND
CHAPMAN

SHAKESPEARE

AND

CHAPMAN

A THESIS OF CHAPMAN'S
AUTHORSHIP OF "A LOVER'S
COMPLAINT," AND HIS
ORIGINATION OF "TIMON
OF ATHENS." WITH INDICA-
TIONS *of* FURTHER PROBLEMS

BY

J. M. ROBERTSON

— M.P.

Author of "Elizabethan Literature,"
"The Baconian Heresy," "Montaigne
and Shakespeare," "Did Shakespeare
write 'Titus Andronicus'?" etc.

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PART I

“A LOVER’S COMPLAINT”

PART I
“A LOVER’S COMPLAINT”

§ 1. THE “RIVAL POET”

FOR many students of Shakespeare, the poem A LOVER’S COMPLAINT, printed by Thorpe at the end of the Sonnets (1609), must always have been a stumbling-block. Containing as it does only two lines that anybody greatly cares to remember, some that can be remembered only with derision, and a multitude of frigid *concetti* that jar upon the æsthetic sense, the poem has been for many of us a source of dull perplexity. To Shakespeare’s fame it contributed nothing; and only the comparative unimportance of the problem kept it undiscussed.

Sir Sidney Lee among contemporary Shakespeareans has won the credit of first avowing scepticism as to the authorship. “If, as is *possible*, it be by Shakespeare,” he wrote in his first LIFE, “it must have been written in very early days.”¹ That pronouncement Sir Sidney followed up in his introduction to the facsimile of the Sonnets in 1905; and in the new edition of his valuable biography, fortified by the support of Professor Mackail, he offers grounds in diction and style for the opinion that “Shakespeare’s responsibility for A LOVER’S COMPLAINT may well be questioned.”

To the essay of Professor Mackail, published in the third

¹ This view had been previously put by Dr. A. W. Ward in his *History of English Dramatic Literature* (ed. 1899, ii. 32) with the remark: “I am not aware that Shakespeare’s authorship of this poem . . . has ever been seriously disputed.” Mr. Samuel Butler held that the “internal evidence of style . . . admits of no doubt” that the poem is Shakespeare’s, and pronounces it “wonderful” (*Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, 1899, pp. 2, 116).

volume of the English Association's *ESSAYS AND STUDIES* (1912), must be assigned the praise of having forced the problem to a solution. For the first time, it subjects the poem to a thorough analysis as regards style, content, and vocabulary; and after a very judicial weighing of all that can critically be said for Shakespeare's authorship, it comes to a negative conclusion, offering the hypothesis that the poem, surreptitiously published as it was with the Sonnets, may be the work of the "rival poet" of Sonnets 80 and 86. This suggestion Sir Sidney Lee finds "less convincing" than the negative conclusion; and at the first blush it might even seem fantastic. But it turns out upon investigation to be a singularly happy hypothesis. It leads not only to an identification of the author, but to the further establishment of the late Professor Minto's hypothesis as to the identity of the rival poet. If not the rival poet, certainly the author of *A LOVER'S COMPLAINT*, can now, I think, be proved to be Chapman.

In putting such a proposition, one leaves somewhat indeterminate the question of the authenticity of all the Sonnets, which were ostensibly published without permission, and were never acknowledged by Shakespeare. Long ago, stirred by a qualm, I satisfied myself that the diction of the great mass is really his; but it is obviously impossible to be sure of all. Professor Mackail holds, with many of us, that "153 and 154 are pretty certainly not by Shakespeare; 128 and 145 are very doubtful; and a plausible case can be made out against 135, 136, and 143."¹ I would add that there are some grounds for doubt about 5, with its dissyllabic "hours" and its "very same"; and about 35, where, in an enigmatic and apparently isolated piece, we have a line not only unconstruable but false in scansion:

Excusing their sins more than their² sins are

¹ Essay cited, p. 64.

² The two "their's" of the original are in modern editions changed to "thy's." It would be more plausible to alter only the first; but the line would still read badly.

—a thing hardly to be matched in the Sonnets. The collocation of "fountains" and "mud" is indeed to be matched twice in *LUCRECE*; hence a contrary doubt. But among the more colourless sonnets, and even in others,¹ we have not an absolutely perfect right to certainty; and the case should be argued under that caveat.

The critical principles that apply are the style test and the test of total congruity. What can be done in the way of special pleading was illustrated last year in a very entertaining letter in the *TIMES*' LITERARY SUPPLEMENT, wherein a gentleman of the Temple argued very ingeniously that the Sonnets are by Raleigh. Accepting the view that the rival poet was Chapman, he proceeded with ostensible consistency to ask who was Chapman's patron, and found, of course, that it was Prince Henry, to whom was dedicated the translation of twelve Books of the *Iliad* in 1609. This, then, was the "lovely boy" of Sonnet 126. Now, Prince Henry was known to have encouraged Raleigh to write his *HISTORY OF THE WORLD*: and Sonnet 125, inexplicable as coming from Shakespeare, was clearly traceable to Sir Walter, who had "laid great bases for eternity" in his colonizing projects, which had "proved more short than waste or ruining"; and who might well denounce the "suborn'd informer." It was all much cleverer than anything ever produced by the Baconians. If seriously contemplated, of course, the thesis, whether or not seriously framed, goes down at once when collated with the Sonnets in general. Exhortations to Prince Henry to marry at or before the age of fifteen, and hints that he has been living a fast life, are not explanations that can detain us; and the theory that Raleigh confessed to having made himself "a motley to the view" is similarly intangible. But still, Sonnet 125 might be by somebody else than Shake-

¹ I have my doubts, for instance, about Sonnet 129, which begins with a Chapmanesque expression, never again found in Shakespeare, and is a piece of soliloquy not in Shakespeare's way.

speare:¹ if one alien piece could be included in the bundle, others might be. We have to look to the collective character and the general significance of the mass.

Taking the mass as pretty certainly Shakespeare's, in respect of the general unity of style, and assuming that Chapman was the rival poet to whom they specially refer, one accepts the conclusion that a number of them—it may be many—are autobiographical. That all are so, or even that all which are written in the first person are autobiographical for Shakespeare, I am unable to believe. Even if we make nothing of the curious parallels of phrase and idea between some of them and French sonnets by Ronsard, Jodelle, and others,² we cannot at times escape an impression of *vers d'occasion*. That some were written on behalf of, or at the instance of, various personages, is the only theory by which a number seem to be made intelligible; and the opinion which finds "Mr. W. H." in William Harvey, the third husband of Southampton's mother, suggests a number of probabilities in the way of vicarious composition. It is surely not difficult to imagine the most impersonal of all dramatists writing "sugred sonnets *for his private friends*." Nor is there any clear ground for assuming that the whole series 1 to 126 are addressed to one person, and that a man. I have never been able to believe that Sonnet 99, for instance, was so addressed; though it is notably elusive as to the "love's" sex; and from my first reading I have held that Sonnet 55 is addressed to the author of some poem, and refers to that. It is plainly a complimentary poem, meant

¹ It may be interesting to compare the lines above quoted with these of Chapman:

Do not make
Those *groundworks of eternity* you lay
Means to your *ruin* and *short* being here.

Sir Giles Goosecap, V. ii. 105-7.

The coincidence is rather curious.

² Cp. Sir Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England*, 1910, p. 266 *seq.*

to be prefaced to a book.¹ "This powerful rhyme" cannot mean the sonnet itself. "These contents" and "the living record of your memory" must refer to a poem; and the concluding lines:

So, till the judgment that (?) yourself arise,
You live in this, and dwell in lover's eyes,

point to a poem dealing with love. Now, such a sonnet might have been written either *to* or *by* Shakespeare.² If *to* him, it would presumably refer to the VENUS. "Powerful rhyme," however, would not be a very good description of the VENUS; and I am inclined to count the sonnet Shakespearean, and to regard it as addressed to the author of a poem about lovers. As this probability will concern us later in our inquiry, it may be well to note here (1) the possibility that it might have been addressed to Marlowe, for his unfinished HERO AND LEANDER. Or again, to put a hypothesis that at this stage will seem highly improbable, it might (2) have been addressed to Chapman in respect of his completion of that poem (which appears to have been written several years before it was printed), and finally either withheld or rejected, for reasons unknown.

However that may be, *some* of the Sonnets are intelligible only as being autobiographical; and among these all critics, I think, are agreed in including Sonnets 76, 78, 80-86. The poet would not write such sonnets *to* or *for* a poet. And to seek to identify the rival poet is an inevitable occupation for Shakespearean criticism.

Professor Mackail, though he suggests no name, and speaks merely of the "unknown rival poet," was doubtless aware of Minto's hypothesis put forward in 1885 in the CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH POETRY (pp. 221-3); and of Mr. Arthur Acheson's book on SHAKESPEARE AND THE

¹ Here again Mr. Samuel Butler had no misgivings. He was sure that the sonnet was addressed to "Mr. W. H.," and described it as "apparently suggested by the last line of the preceding sonnet."

² There is also a possibility that it was written neither *to* nor *by* him.

RIVAL POET (1903), in which that hypothesis is accepted and energetically developed. It may have been a sense of the arbitrariness of a number of the steps in Mr. Acheson's vigorous and ingenious argument that moved Professor Mackail to leave the thesis alone; and in this primary investigation I have not founded upon Mr. Acheson's case even when I agree with him, preferring a line of approach which involves none of his assumptions. At times they almost amount to begging the question, though to any one who has gone carefully over the ground they are recognizably inductions, whether or not licit. It is my hope that the whole problem handled by him will emerge under a fuller light when we have approached it by way of the present investigation, and that even some of his more arbitrary positions may then seem tenable, though some of his conclusions certainly will not.

For the present, we may note that the help given by Minto's hypothesis to Mr. Acheson in his attempt to solve the problem of the Sonnets is something in its favour. On its face, indeed, it is at once judicious and suggestive; and it was long ago accepted by many of us as by far the best solution ever offered of the "rival poet" problem. The "full proud sail of his great verse"; the "spirit, by spirits taught to write Above a mortal pitch"; the ship "of tall building and of goodly pride," contrasted with the "saucy bark"; and the "affable familiar ghost, Which nightly gulls him with intelligence," were all satisfactorily identified, in the beginnings of Chapman's translations of the ILLIAD, in the language of the SHADOW OF NIGHT, and in the theorem of the "heavenly familiar" set forth in the Dedication to that poem. To Minto's case may be added (1) the item of the lines:

And, like unletter'd clerk, still cry "Amen"
 To every *hymn* that able spirit affords,
 In polish'd form of well-refinèd pen,

in Sonnet 85. THE SHADOW OF NIGHT consisted of two

Hymns; and "able" is an epithet often used by Chapman. (2) Further, as was probably pointed out at the time of Professor Minto's publication of his theory, Chapman in the epilogue to his translation of the *ILIAD* writes of "that most assistful and unspeakable Spirit by whose thrice sacred conduct and inspiration I have finished that labour." (3) Yet further, in the Epistle Dedicatory to his part of *HERO AND LEANDER* he speaks of himself as "drawn by *strange instigation* to employ some of my serious time in so trifling a subject"; and in his opening sestiad (the third) he has the lines:

Then ho, most strangely intellectual fire,
 That, proper to my soul, hast power t' inspire
 Her burning faculties, and with the wings
 Of thy unsphered flame *visitest the springs*
Of spirits immortal! Now (as swift as Time
 Doth follow Motion) find th' eternal clime
 Of his [Marlowe's] free soul, whose living subject stood
 Up to the chin in the Pierian flood. . . .
 Confer with it, and make my pledge as deep,
That neither's draught be consecrate to sleep.

(4) The idea of inspiring communion with "Spirits" seems likely to have been a matter of *talk* with Chapman, so often does he introduce it in his writings. Thus in the autobiographical *Inductio* to *THE TEARS OF PEACE* we have the spiritual Homer or "Ghost" addressing and entrancing the poet:

I brake into a trance, and then remain'd
 Like him, an only soul

—such trance being "apt" to his temperament:

And thus I spake: "O thou that, blind, dost see
 My heart and soul, what may I reckon thee,
 Whose heavenly look shows not, nor voice sounds man?"
 "I am," said he, "that spirit Elysian
 That in my native air, and on the hill
 Next Hitchin's left hand, did thy bosom fill
 With such a flood of soul, that thou wert fain,

With exclamations of her rapture then,
 To vent it to the echoes of the vale;
 When, meditating of me, a sweet gale
 Brought me upon thee; and thou didst inherit
 My true sense, for the time then, in my spirit;
 And I, invisibly, went prompting thee
 To those fair greens where thou didst English me."

(5) Finally, we have the verbal coincidence between Shakespeare's lines:

Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write
 Above a mortal *pitch*, that struck me dead?

and these in Chapman's version of the second Book of the ILLIAD, 419-21:

That great work, unless the seed of Jove,
 The deathless Muses, undertake, maintains a *pitch above*
 All mortal powers.

These lines, be it observed, do not occur in Chapman's first version, published in 1598: they appear only in the later editions. The original rendering ran:

For only you the seed of Jove can tell the troops exact
 That under lofty Ilion's walls employed revengeful fight.

As the revised version went into print only in 1609, we may suppose that the sonnet proceeded upon spoken words of Chapman—unless indeed we surmise that Chapman amended his version after having seen the sonnet. A very similar passage appears in 1609 in the *Invocatio* of THE TEARS OF PEACE:

And with the eagle's feathers deign to raise
 The heavy body of my humble Muse,
 That thy great Homer's spirit in her may use
 Her topless flight and bear thy flame above
 The reach of mortals and their earthly love.

And yet again we have in SIR GILES GOOSECAP (I. iv. 24) the line:

And far above the pitch of my low plumes.

So remarkable a set of data, in terms of the indications given in the Sonnets, can be shown for no other proposed identification. Fleay, always to be heard with heedful respect on such problems, puts in a long and close argument¹ the thesis that Gervase Markham was, "if not the second poet, at any rate one of the alien pens alluded to."² The grounds are (1) that Markham's "THYRSIS AND DAPHNE, published five days after VENUS AND ADONIS, and unfortunately not extant, was no doubt written in rivalry thereof"; (2) that Markham's "SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE, 1595, September (just the date required), contains explanations of most of the allusions to Southampton's 'eyes, virtue,' etc.: and though his beauty is not mentioned, that may have been descanted upon in the lost THYRSIS"; (3) that Markham "was 'learned,' had 'proud sail' with a vengeance, and his poem was dictated by the 'spirit' of Grenville." (4) Markham ridicules VENUS AND ADONIS in THE DUMB KNIGHT, and the nearly identical words on the subject in the FAIR MAID OF THE EXCHANGE (c. 1600) go to indicate that he probably wrote that play also. Thus he was a rival, and an antagonist.

The main strength of this case lies in the fact that one of the four dedicatory sonnets to Markham's GRENVILLE is addressed to Southampton. It certainly justifies the surmise that Markham is one of the "alien" pens of Sonnet 78, which, however, says that the recipient's eyes

Have added feathers to the learned's wing,

as well as

taught the dumb on high to sing,
And heavy ignorance aloft to fly.

"Rude ignorance" the sonneteer takes to himself; but Markham is hardly to be thought of as "the learned" in respect of his *work*; and Sonnets 80 and 86 point to some

¹ *Biog. Chron. of the English Drama*, ii. 208.

² *Ibid.* p. 219.

greater poet than he. "Full proud sail of his great verse" does not truly describe Markham's poem, in which the "Muse" is modest enough, and the style far from great; while the invocation of Grenville's spirit does not cover the

affable *familiar* ghost
Which *nightly* gulls him with intelligence.

Furthermore, the allusions to VENUS AND ADONIS in THE DUMB KNIGHT and THE FAIR MAID OF THE EXCHANGE really do not amount to ridicule, and imply no hostility; while, on the other hand, Mr. Acheson confidently assumes¹ that the second and fourth lines of Markham's sonnet to Southampton, which begins:

Thou glorious laurel of the Muses' hill,
Whose eye doth crown the most victorious pen;
Bright lamp of virtue, in whose sacred skill
Lives all the bliss of ear-enchancing men,

are in direct allusion to Shakespeare, as the author of VENUS. And though there is no adequate warrant for such confidence, the surmise cannot be ruled out. Such conflicts of hypothesis are warnings against the snares of our quest, in which we are apt to find ourselves "looking in a dark room for a black hat that isn't there."

As Fleay goes on to avow, *Drayton* "would suit the description of 'a better pen,' etc., better than Markham or Harvey"—the other pair of candidates whom Fleay favours. "The only missing link (a most important one)," he adds, "is the absence of any dedicatory Sonnet to Lord Southampton"; and he suggests concerning Drayton that "it seems possible that his suppressed Sonnet to L. S. may have been addressed to L(ord) S(outhampton). . . . Were this one link discovered I should undoubtedly pronounce in favour of Drayton as *the* other poet. The reason for Shakespeare's taking his Sonnets as a model would be apparent at once."

But the difficulty would remain that Drayton does *not*

¹ *Shakespeare and the Rival Poet*, pp. 117, 128, 135.

meet the particulars as to the "ghost," and the claim, "by spirits taught to write Above a mortal pitch," while Chapman meets them all, the "compeers by night" included. It is true that we have from Chapman only the one sonnet to Southampton, published with a number of others at the end of the translation of the Iliad. But we are really not limited to surviving dedicatory Sonnets for the possibilities or probabilities of the case. Sonnet 80 tells that

a better spirit doth use your name,
And in the *praise* thereof *spends all his might*.

This description is satisfied by neither of the dedicatory Sonnets under notice, and it points to something more than a dedication, then an everyday thing. Chapman may have written a number of early sonnets to Southampton; or, as Mr. Acheson contends, he may have praised him in other ways: that Mæcenas was evidently in considerable request. Of rival poets in a general sense there were several. Chapman's OVID'S BANQUET OF SENSE (1595) and Drayton's ENDIMION AND PHOEBE (1594) may both be regarded as rival poems to the VENUS AND ADONIS; and we may note the curious fact that Drayton in his dedicatory sonnet to the Countess of Bedford has the line:

Upon whose *praise* my soul shall *spend her powers*

—which makes to some extent for Fleay's hypothesis, as it was notoriously Drayton's habit to change his patrons when they dissatisfied him. But nothing can make good the lack of the characteristics set forth in Sonnet 80, which seems to tell not only of Chapman's mystical claims¹ but of the verse

¹ A fairly plausible claim might be made for Daniel, who in his MUSOPHILUS, published in 1603, has obscure lines (976-8) on

The speech of heaven with whom they have commèrce,
That only seems out of themselves removed,
And do with more than human skills converse.

On the release of Southampton after the accession of James, Daniel sent him a high-pitched poetic Epistle. But the case for Daniel, as for Drayton, is flimsy in comparison with that for Chapman.

of his translation of the *ILIAD*, first published in part in 1598, but probably seen in manuscript by Shakespeare before publication, as it certainly would be by patrons. Chapman repeatedly tells us that he had translated the earlier books long before he went to press with them. In that interval he would certainly circulate a copy. And if a poem by Chapman were kept *along with* Shakespeare's sonnets by somebody, it would be a point in favour of the Chapman hypothesis.

On any view, if we are to find a solution, we must proceed by hypothesis: and for no other identification of the rival poet can such backing be found as for Minto's. When, then, I recently met with Professor Mackail's speculation, I at once gratefully recognized a probable solution of the immediate problem, and very soon something more—for the process of elucidation does not end with the case of the *LOVER'S COMPLAINT*. But that was the starting-point, and the first clear elucidation. Long occupied with the problems of the plays, I had never closely studied this; and the moment one considered the hypothesis that Chapman wrote the *COMPLAINT*, its truth leapt to the eye. It needed only a reperusal of Chapman to establish the proof. The perverse diction, the *concetti*, the uncommon vocabulary, the strong lines and the bad lines, nay, the final futility—unless we are to say, the incompleteness—of the poem, are all to be accounted for in Chapman.

§ 2. THE STYLE OF THE "COMPLAINT"

BEFORE coming to the proof-in-detail from diction and vocabulary, it may be well to take a general view of the style and method of the poem, as analysed by Professor Mackail. Very justly, I think, he pronounces that

A *LOVER'S COMPLAINT* is not the work of a beginner. Its style, alike in its good and its bad points, is formed and even matured. After all allowance has been made for Shakespeare's power for imitating the style of other writers, and of anticipating his own later style in his earlier work, it seems to me impossible to think of this poem as a work of his youth, belonging to the period of *LUCRECE*. It is either a work of his later and matured period, or not a work of his at all. And what points to its being not a work of his, is that the formal style is combined with an intellectual weakness leading here and there to feeblenesses and flatnesses.

This judgment is as sound as that of Mr. Samuel Butler is uncritical. As to the maturity of the style, we have only to compare the *COMPLAINT* with *LUCRECE* to perceive it. If the former poem is youthful, what is the other? I am less disposed to assent to the further proposition that

There are passages in *A LOVER'S COMPLAINT* which, while quite Shakespearean in their quality, might have been written by any clever versifier *who had studied Shakespeare*, and learned the trick so far as it is a trick, such as ll. 155-6 :

But ah! who ever shunn'd by precedent
The destined ill she must herself assay?

or ll. 183-4 :

All my offences that abroad you see
Are errors of the blood, none of the mind.

And there are others which distinctly give the impression of imitations of Shakespeare by an inferior artist, like l. 21 :

In clamours of all size both high and low ;

or ll. 104-5 :

His rudeness so with his authoriz'd youth
Did livery falseness in a pride of truth ;

or the whole of the stanza about horsemanship (ll. 106-12), if compared with the well-known passage in *VENUS AND ADONIS*, stanzas 44-50. . . . Not only is the first line of this stanza incredibly flat, but the whole stanza is poor and ragged.

The last criticism is quite just; but it is extremely doubtful whether there is any imitation of Shakespeare in the whole poem. The quasi-Shakespearean quality of some lines is really but an "Elizabethan" quality; and the theme of horsemanship is particularly Elizabethan. As it happens, the lines on the subject in the *COMPLAINT* point rather directly to Chapman. Compare :

Well could he ride, and often men would say
That horse his mettle from his rider takes :
Proud of subjection, noble by the sway :
What rounds, what bounds, what course, what stop he makes,
And controversy hence a question takes,
Whether the horse by him became his deed,
Or he his manage by the well-doing steed,

with this passage from *BYRON'S CONSPIRACY*, II. ii. 67 :

The Duke Byron on his brave heast Pastrana
Who sits him like a full-sail'd argosy
Danced with a lofty billow, and as snug
Plies to his bearer, both their motions mix'd ;
And being considered in their site together,
They do the best present the state of man
In his first royalty ruling, and of beasts
In their first loyalty serving : one commanding,
And no way being mov'd ; *the other serving*
And no way being compell'd . . .
A doctrinal and witty hieroglyphic
Of a blest kingdom, to express and teach
Kings to command as they could serve, and subjects
To serve as if they had power to command.

The writer of the latter passage had evidently no need to go to Shakespeare for the idea in the former—unless he is to be supposed guilty of copying him in both cases. There

is indeed a possibility that the copying was the other way about. Shakespeare apparently did some copying in this very connection. His description of the horse in the VENUS, held by some to have been necessarily borrowed from Sylvester's then unpublished translation of Du Bartas,¹ might with more probability be inferred to come from an earlier English document. The matter is of no great importance, but it may be worth a passing notice. Shakespeare's horse is

Round-hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long,
Broad breast, full eye, small head, and nostril wide,
High crest, short ears, straight legs, and passing strong,
Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide.

Venus and Adonis, ll. 295-8.

All such descriptions point back to Xenophon ON HORSEMANSHIP, and to Virgil's lines:

Illi ardua cervix,
Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, obesaque terga;
Luxuriatque toris animosum pectus . . .
Densa juba, et dextro jactata recumbit in armo;
At duplex agitur per lumbos spina; cavatque
Tellurem et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu

(*Georgics*, iii. 79-88)

—which follow in detail either Xenophon or the older treatise of Simon. Du Bartas certainly had these lines—and probably also Xenophon—in view, stipulating as he does for the *double eschine*, while adding many other points. For the *densa juba* he substitutes *un long poil crespément epandu*; ² and Sylvester in turn specified ³ “a long *thin* curled mane.” Before Du Bartas, however, the Spanish Guevara had inserted in one of his epistles a description

¹ Sir Sidney Lee thinks Shakespeare may have seen the original (*French Renaissance*, p. 337).

² *La seconde Sepmaine de G. de Saluste, sieur du Bartas*, Paris, 1610, p. 142. (*Les Artifices*, Jour I.)

³ Sylvester's Du Bartas, *The Handicrafts*, ed. 1613, p. 286.

of the ideal horse, thus Englished by Edward Hellowes in his version of 1584 :

A high crest, hair to the ground, slit nostrils, sure hoofed, well membered, broad buttocks, a long tail, great eyes, a soft skin, and above all, of courage marvellous fierce.

The Familiar Epistles of Guevara, 1584, p. 128.

It will be noted that nine of the items correspond more or less closely to those in Shakespeare's picture, to say nothing of the "courage"; while the "thin mane" is special to Shakespeare and Sylvester. But Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's "Second Week" appeared only in 1598; whereas there was published in 1595, in the same volume with OVID'S BANQUET OF SENSE, Chapman's (or rather Stapleton's¹) CONTENTION OF PHILLIS AND FLORA, a rendering of an old Latin poem, formerly ascribed to Walter Mapes; and there (stt. 56, 57) we have this description of Flora's palfrey:—

His mane *thin-hair'd*, his neck *high-crested*,
Small ear; short head, and burly-breasted.

His broad back stoop'd to this clerk's loved . . .
Straight-logg'd, large thigh'd, and hollow-hoov'd.

Here we have eight correspondences with Shakespeare's list, which however includes additional items found in Guevara's, whereof one ("soft skin") is absent from Sylvester's, as

¹ In 1598 the poem was separately reprinted as the work of "R. S. Esquire." As Richard Stapleton prefixed commendatory verses to Chapman's volume in 1595, Sir Sidney Lee justifiably surmises that PHILLIS AND FLORA is really the work of Stapleton (*French Renaissance*, p. 467, note); and as Chapman later (pref. to trans. of Iliad) speaks of Stapleton as "my most ancient, learned, and right noble friend . . . first most desertful mover in the frame of our Homer," the conjecture seems established by Chapman's acquiescence in the re-issue of the poem, which, further, disappears from the 1639 reprint of Chapman's volume. It may well have been, however, that Chapman had some small share in the translation; and as in any case its vocabulary was known to Chapman, it will hereinafter be occasionally adduced. Some of its words are specialties of his,

from his original. The "high crest" occurs alike in Guevara, Shakespeare, and Chapman, where Sylvester merely has "a crested neck," and Du Bartas *col mollement vousté*.

Now, the translator of PHILLIS AND FLORA is following his original. He prints only a part of it at the end of his version: but in the complete poem DE PHILLIDE ET FLORA we have:

Cervix fuit ardua, sparsa coma leve,
auris parva, prominens pectus, caput breve . . .
pede cavo, tibia recta, largo crure.

Poems attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. Wright, 1841,
p. 264, ll. 203-4-7.

So that the "thin mane" had four hundred years before been imposed on the Virgilian *ardua cervix*, though it was not adopted by Du Bartas. It seems as likely as not that there was current some general and variously detailed description of the ideal horse,¹ including all the old items, seeing that Shakespeare's "fetlocks shag and long" point to Guevara's "hair to the ground"; while his "short-jointed" recalls the "short pasterns" of Du Bartas, and his "thin mane" points to the version of Mapes. The natural presumption is that Sylvester had either seen such a general description or had taken his "thin mane" from Shakespeare or Chapman-Stapleton, rather than that Shakespeare had so early seen Sylvester's translation in manuscript.

On the other hand, it is rather likely that Shakespeare may have seen the version of PHILLIS AND FLORA in manuscript before writing the VENUS, Chapman being, *ex hypothesi*, his "rival" for the patronage of Southampton. THE SHADOW OF NIGHT, we know, had been read by

¹ Compare, for instance, Jonson's description in *Bartholomew Fair*, iv. iii. I have seen two treatises on horsemanship published in 1584 (one of which has been wrongly described as a translation of Xenophon), but in neither is there a list of "points,"

Marlowe, who died in 1593; and the translation of the Latin poem is likely enough to have been in existence some time before its publication. In any case, it is not Chapman-Stapleton who imitate Shakespeare, for there has not been added to the original any of the items which Shakespeare took from Guevara, or from the longer description which we have supposed to be current.

For the rest, most students of Chapman will probably agree that it is unnecessary to surmise on his part any imitation of Shakespeare's *style* to account for such lines as those cited by Professor Mackail. The seven-line stanza-form, indeed, is that of THE RAPE OF LUCRECE; and the very first line suggests that that poem was the cue; but beyond this there is nothing that can be called copying. LUCRECE, in fact, was modelled as to stanza-form, and partly as to sentiment, on Daniel's COMPLAINT OF ROSAMOND (1592), as the VENUS was suggested by Lodge's GLAUCUS AND SCILLA (1589). But the LOVER'S COMPLAINT is no more an imitation of the LUCRECE than of the poem of Daniel. Rather, we shall see ground for thinking, it is an attempt to eclipse the LUCRECE by a far more elaborate technique; and if it was written near in time to that poem there was simply no "mature" Shakespeare style in existence to copy. If it was written ten years later, when Shakespeare had formed the style which we call Shakespearean, the author, supposing him to have imitated that, would be putting his spiced wine into an old bottle, into which Shakespeare had once poured a quite unsophisticated fluid.

But the theory is in any case supererogatory. The style is just Chapman's own. The very use of "precedent," with the force of "warning example," is one of his habits of phrase: the line about errors of blood, not of mind, is one of his oftenest reiterated tags. The better lines of the COMPLAINT he has often surpassed: never does he go very far without a strong stroke. Many of his lines, had they

occurred in a play of Shakespeare's, would have passed without suspicion, as would many of Jonson's, to name no lesser men. In Chapman's section of HERO AND LEANDER alone there are plenty of this quality, *e.g.* :

When bees make wax, Nature doth not intend
It shall be made a torch; but we that know
The proper virtue of it, make it so. . . .

Thus 'gainst our grief, not cause of grief, we fight:
The right of nought is glean'd, but the delight.

So ebb'd and flowed the blood in Eucharis' face:
Coyness and love strived which had greatest grace.

Action is fiery valour's sovereign good.

Being used aright, the use of time is fate.

Joy, graven in sense, like snow in water, wastes:
Without preserve of virtue, nothing lasts.

But custom, that the apoplexy is
Of bed-rid natures and lives led amiss,
And takes away all feeling of offence,
Yet brazed not Hero's brow with impudence. . . .

—the last a cue to Shakespeare.¹ The same thought occurs in BUSSY D'AMBOIS, V. iv. 181 :

Custom had benumb'd
All sense of scruple and all note of frailty.

The sententious manner is just as much Chapman's as Shakespeare's, being indeed pre-Shakespearean.² Equally Chapman's own are the faults. Every blemish in the COMPLAINT can be matched in THE SHADOW OF NIGHT, in OVID'S BANQUET OF SENSE, in HERO AND LEANDER. The faults, as Professor Mackail sees, are the faults not of an

¹ "If damned custom have not brass'd it so."—*Hamlet*, III. iv. 37.

² Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham, in his meritorious edition of Marlowe, suggests (p. 352) that certain "saws of might" in Chapman's part of *Hero and Leander* are "not the least in Chapman's style," and must be Marlowe's. This is a complete mistake. Chapman has dozens of such sententious dicta.

unformed but of an ill-formed style : they occur in Chapman's earliest signed work, and they recur in *EUGENIA*, and in the last sad diatribe against Ben Jonson. They are the inveterate faults of a powerful artist who never attained the crowning grace of finish, sustained ease, limpidity ; who could never abstain from doing violence to diction to get a rhyme or a measure ; and who was of all the great Elizabethans the most irredeemable victim to the snare of the "conceit." The man who could put in *ANDROMEDA LIBERATA* the line :

And now came roaring to the tied, the Tide,

repeating a stale pun of Lilly's, already utilized in *TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA*, was capable of every fatuity in the *COMPLAINT*.

But Professor Mackail, faithfully facing every plea that can be made for Shakespeare's authorship, offers these concessions :

On the other hand, there are more than a few passages in the poem which are like Shakespeare at his best, and of which one would say at first sight that no one but Shakespeare could have written them, so wonderfully do they combine his effortless power and his incomparable sweetness. I need only cite three or four instances (ll. 14, 146-7, 237-8 288-9) :

Some beauty peep'd through lattice of sear'd age.

Threw my affections in his charmèd power,
Reserv'd the stalk, and gave him all my flower.

But kept cold distance, and did thence remove,
To spend her living in eternal love.

O father, what a hell of witchcraft lies
In the small orb of one particular tear.

The last passage, as Shakespearean in its concentrated weight of passion as in its exquisiteness of rhythm and phrasing, contains a striking verbal likeness to a phrase in *Sonnet 120* ; and this is only one out of several : we may compare the use of *oblation*, l. 223, and *Sonnet 125* ; "heard where his plants in others' orchards grew," l. 171 ;

and Sonnet 16; "glaz'd with crystal gate the glowing roses," l. 286, and Sonnet 5.¹ These and other lines if quoted carry the mind instinctively to the Sonnets. . . . They suggest that if the author of A LOVER'S COMPLAINT was not the author of the Sonnets, he had read them, or some of them, when he wrote the poem.

It is after these very liberal allowances that Professor Mackail sums up: "Yet on a large view the style and evolution of A LOVER'S COMPLAINT must be set down as not characteristically Shakespearean, and as in some respects characteristically un-Shakespearean. A certain laboriousness, a certain cramped, gritty, discontinuous quality, affects it subtly but vitally throughout." I would not merely press this verdict: I would respectfully challenge the claims made for the lines cited. The last two are of course *the* "Shakespearean" lines of the poem; and they do suggest the "hell of time" in Sonnet 120, and the "Siren tears, Distilled from limbecks foul as hell," in Sonnet 119. But then Chapman has not merely a number of expressions such as "hells of misery" (HOM. HYMN TO APOLLO) and "O what a hell was heaven in" (HERO AND LEANDER, V. TALE OF TERAS), and such lines as:

Still to be constant in hell's blackest reign.

Id. vi. 170;

And toss'd distress'd Leander, being in hell,
As high as heaven.

Id. *ib.* 182;

I must describe the hell of my disease.

Id. *ib.* 142;

—four "hell" metaphors in one poem, and three in one canto: he has in THE GENTLEMAN USHER (IV. iv. 54) the saying:

an old wife's eye
Is a blue crystal full of sorcery;

which points from another side to the image in the COM-

¹ I may note that this has long been for me a doubtful sonnet. It certainly has something of the manner of the COMPLAINT.—J. M. R.

PLAINT. The "particular" also, we shall see, is a common Chapmanism, as is "orb." But not only are the lines Chapman-like: they are un-Shakespearean in their setting; the sequel

But with the inundation of the eyes
What rocky heart to water will not wear?

being a hopeless anti-climax.¹ Nor is "sear'd age" a tolerable figure of the face of a sorrowing maiden. As for the stalk-and-flower figure, that too is one of Chapman's. Compare:

Suffer'd such a delicious *flower* to perish in the *stalk*.
The Widow's Tears, II. iv.

Honour, what's that? your second maidenhead:
And what is that? a word: the word is gone;
The thing remains: the rose is pluck'd, the *stalk*
Abides.

Bussy D'Ambois, II. ii. 10, ed. Parrott; Shepherd, p. 150b.

And again the use is un-Shakespearean, un-poetic. Burns, handling the same trope, makes the false lover steal the rose and leave the *thorn*, which is better; and *that* figure is used by Shakespeare in ALL'S WELL, IV. i. 19.

But on the other hand, Chapman was perfectly capable of all the poetry there is in the COMPLAINT. He could write:

And all this while the red sea of her blood
Ebb'd with Leander.

No pen can anything eternal write
That is not steeped in humour of the Night.

Love is a golden bubble, full of dreams,
That waking breaks, and fills us with extremes.

When in the oak's green arms the cuckoo sings
And first delights men in the lovely springs.

¹ This may be said to echo two weak lines (591-2) in LUCRECE, but those are not nearly so bad.

Who, in short, that has ever studied him, will deny that he can *at times* sing with effortless ease and perfect felicity of phrase and rhythm? I confess I cannot see much "passion" in the wire-drawn discourse of the deserted maiden; but, such as it is, it is surely within the compass of the author of BUSSY D'AMBOIS, or, for that matter, of the author of THE WIDOW'S TEARS.

§ 3. MARKS OF CHAPMAN

HE who will but grant that modest premiss may now proceed to note the hundred-and-one reasons for thinking that Chapman *did* write the COMPLAINT. To begin with, some of the *apparatus poeticus* has been used by him elsewhere; and as it is there ostensibly more naturally placed, the presumption is that this poem is the later. In the COMPLAINT, the distressed maiden sits with a "maund" by her side, from which she extracts "a thousand favours." *Maund* is an old word, found twice in the Bible of 1551, and later in Hall and Herrick, but never in Shakespeare—apart from the COMPLAINT. It happens to be used by Chapman (tr. of ODYSSEY, VI. 105). But he also duplicates his picture. In HERO AND LEANDER (iv. 96), Hero does a piece of embroidery in which there figures

A country virgin keeping of a vine. . . .
And by her lay her *scrip* that nourish'd her;

vine and scrip being both plundered by foxes; whereby Hero "did her soul express"—

To show what death was hid in love's disguise.

The seducer, again, is a duplicate of the portraits of Leander and Hymen:—

Small show of man was yet upon his chin,
His phoenix *down* began but to appear
Like unshorn velvet on that termless skin;

and

He did in the general bosom reign
Of young, of old; and sexes both enchanted . . .
Many there were that did his picture get
To serve their eyes, and in it put their mind.

So, in HERO AND LEANDER, Hero delights in her lover's picture; and others afterwards do the same;

After this accident . . .
Th' inhabitants of Sestos and Abydos
Did every year, with feasts propitious,
To fair Leander's picture sacrifice;
And they were persons of especial price
That were allow'd it, as an ornament
T' enrich their houses.

Again we have in the fifth sestiad :

the *downless* rosy faces
Of youths and maids;

and in the Tale of Teras, Hymen

Of Athens was a youth so sweet of face
That many thought him of the female race . . .
For only now his chin's first *down* consorted
His head's rich fleece, in golden curls contorted.

The figure doubtless comes from Homer (Il. xxiv. 347), "with the first down on his chin," or, as Chapman renders it, "first-down-chinn'd" (xxiv. 307). The false one in the COMPLAINT, further, gets "browny locks . . . in crooked curls," curls being among Chapman's favourite properties :

Her [Hero's] plenteous hair in curl'd billows swims
On her bright shoulder.

The Levant Sea
On whose curl'd head the glowing sun doth rise.

His [Neptune's] brackish curls.

The green-hair'd Hellespont broke in silver curls.
'Gainst Hero's tower.

Whose [the, Sun's] ardour curl'd the foreheads of the trees.
Ovid's Banquet.

[The morning] deck'd all with curl'd clouds.

Andromeda.

Lodged in that fleece of hair, yellow and curled.

The Amorous Zodiac (no "curl'd" in the original).

"Crooked," again, in the sense of "curved," is a constant epithet of Chapman's. Never does Shakespeare, apart from this poem, apply that epithet to a curl. Out of a dozen uses of the word in the Concordance, there is but one instance with the possible force of "curling" ("crooked smokes" in *CYMBELINE* — where there arises another problem), and one with the force of "curved" — "crooked figure" in the first prologue to *HENRY V*, a highly problematic item to be dealt with later. The normal meaning of the word in Shakespeare is always "bent," morally or physically, and its application is usually disparaging. But with Chapman the normal meaning is "curved." With him bows are always crooked; eagles and vultures have "crooked beaks," and "crooked seres"; the snail makes "crooked mazes"; winding streams are crooked; ships are "crookt-sterned"; an ox's horn is "crookt"; even a scythe is so described. He has the moral application also, and speaks of crooked age; but for him normally the crooked is the curved.

And the clues continue. Of the seducer in the *COMPLAINT* his victim tells that

Love lacked a dwelling, and made him her place;
And when in his fair parts she did abide
She was new lodged and newly deified—

which is exactly what happens to Hymen in the Tale of Teras. It seems probable that the bad lover was modelled on the good ones, not *vice versa*. But this is not thus far certain, and the question is still left open when we have noted the correspondence between the deserted one's "napkin,"

Which on it had conceited characters,

and the "conceited scarf" of Hero (iv. 76). "Characters," in this (the usual Elizabethan) sense, is a frequent word in Chapman:

In whose white circle Love writ all his charms,
And made his characters sweet Hero's limbs.

Id. iii. 99.

A rich disparent pentacle she wears
Drawn full of circles and strange characters.

Id. *ib.* 124.

Charms made of unlearned characters are not consecrate
by the Muses.

Epist. Ded. to Ovid's Banquet.

Wherein was writ, in sable charactery. . . .

Ovid's Banquet, st. 71.

And those strange characters, writ in his face.

Byron's Conspiracy, I. i. 170.

Certain magic characters in an unlawful book.

The Widow's Tears, I. ii. 119.

Thou dost bear thy wounds upon thee
In wide and spacious characters.

The Admiral of France, V. iii. 45.

We can now be fairly sure that we are reading Chapman, but not yet that the COMPLAINT is later than HERO AND LEANDER.

Before coming to the items of syntax and vocabulary, rightly stressed by Professor Mackail as the data on which a critical investigation must turn, it may be well to deal with one line in which diction and thought together are to be traced to Chapman in an interesting way. Professor Mackail is generous enough to say that such lines as:

Her grievance with his hearing to divide,

and

That maidens' eyes stuck over all his face,

"are Shakespearean enough, though we may doubt whether

Shakespeare would have written them without a smile." I confess I am unable to conceive Shakespeare writing either, in any mood; and I am reasonably sure that he did not. Both the lines (80-1):

Of one by nature's outwards so commended,
That maidens' eyes stuck over all his face,

can be confidently traced to Chapman. The second is perhaps not quite so mad as it looks. The idea is that the beauty of the face at every point arrested the "arrows" of love-struck maidens' eyes; and the unhappy diction came of Chapman's proclivity to the verb "to stick," one of the many touches of vernacular with which he counterpoised his Latinism and neologism. Shakespeare has it often, but Chapman far oftener. For instances:

But D'Ambois's sword . . .
Shot like a pointed comet at the face
Of manly Barrisor; and there it *stuck*.

Bussy D'Ambois, II. i. 88.

A tale so worthy, and so fraught with wonder,
Sticks in my jaws.

Id. ib. l. 31.

My hand (*stuck* full of laurel).

Id. III. ii. 124.

Y'ave *stuck* us up a very worthy flag.

Id. ib. l. 140.

O thou great Prince of shades where never sun
Sticks his far-darted beams.

Id. V. iii. 48.

And like a loathsome wen
Sticks to the face of nature and this court.

Byron's Tragedy, V. ii. 148.

And lightning *sticks* 'twixt heaven and earth amaz'd.

Id. V. iii. 67.

Sir, if my loyalty *stick* in him no faster
But that the light breath of report may loose it.

Id. III. i. 174.

Knees bent too late,
Stick you in earth like statues.

Id. V. end.

Hell
Stuck full of inward horrors, never lighted.

Bussy D'Ambois, IV. ii. 23.

Like a falling star
 Silently glanced, that like a thunderbolt
 Looked to have *stuck* and shook the firmament.

Id. V. iv. 146.

Whom on his hair-plum'd helmet's crest the dart first smote,
 then ran
 Into his forehead and there *stuck*.

Trans. of Iliad, iv. 488.

And as a poplar shot aloft, set by a river side . . .
Sticks there. . . .

Id. iv. 528.

Whole *storms* of lances, large and sharp, of which a number
stuck
 In his rough shield.

Id. V. 618.

Here we have two of the tic-words of the COMPLAINT in one line. "Stuck" and "storm" occur again repeatedly in the thirteenth and fourteenth books, and "stuck" is found all through Chapman's poetry :

As thou putt'st handles to the Thespian bowls,
 Or *stuck'st* rich plumes in the Palladian casque.

In Sejanum Ben Jonsoni.

Sticks in his blazing forehead like a star.

Fragment of the Tears of Peace.

And in his [Phœbus'] brow
 A torch of pitch *stuck*, lighting half the skies.

Epicœdium (ed. Shepherd, p. 173*b*).

And in her cold lips *stick* astonish'd sounds.

Id. p. 174*a*.

The golden age, starlike shot through our sky,
 Aim'd at his pomp renew'd, and *stuck in's eye!*

Id. Epitaphium.

And lightning *stuck* 'twixt heaven and earth amaz'd.
Andromeda Liberata.

Shoots his [the sun's] vented rays
 Far off, and *sticks* them in some little glade.
 Epist. Ded. to Earl of Somerset, pref. to *Odysseys*.

Stuck her tender knees
 Amidst the soft mead.
Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

Finally, "all over" or "over all" is one of his modes :

Stuck all over with roses.
 Annot. 7 on trans. of Musæus.

He smote the upper part
 Of *all* his skull.
 Trans. of *Iliad*, viii. 70.

All over her she blush'd.
 Trans. of Musæus.

In this last-cited piece the operation of the "maiden's eyes" is further explained by the lines :

But with the flaming arrows of her eyes
 Wounded unwares . . .
 But now the love-brand in his eye-beams burned.

And this idea we have again in THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS (I. i. 102) :

Wooing as freshly as when first love shot
 His faultless arrows from her rosy eyes ;

and yet again, earlier, in the BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA (near end) :

Po. Love's darts are swift as is the lightning fire.
Rhe. See, he shoots arrows burning from her eyes.

Thus the *notion* of the "stuck" line is seen to be Chapman's, and the phraseology is also his. He clearly found nothing cacophonous or undignified in the word ;

nor, it seems, did his contemporaries.¹ In his rendering of the Homeridian Hymn to Aphrodite we are told how the eyes of the goddess "stuck" on the couch of Anchises; and the last line of his version of the thirteenth book of the Iliad runs:

They reach'd the splendours *stuck* about the unreach'd throne of Jove.

I could give thirty more instances: there are five in the thirteenth Iliad alone, three in the fifteenth, four in the sixteenth, and three in the seventeenth.

Similarly we may note Chapman's habit in the use of "particular," "outwards," and "sear'd." These are of course not *non-Shakespearean* words: "particular" and "outward" (not the plural form) were common in Elizabethan diction; and Shakespeare often uses them. I merely note that "particular" and "outward" are still more frequent in Chapman than in Shakespeare, the latter being one of his tics:

Insight illustrates: outward bravery blinds.

Shadow of Night.

With eyes turn'd upward, and was outward blind;
But inward, past and future things he saw.

Tears of Peace: Inductio.

Like to incense the outward war again.

Id. ib.

Overshoot

Their true-sought inward peace for outward boot.

Tears of Peace, ed. Shepherd, p. 121a.

Whose outward rapture made me inward bleed.

Id. end.

¹ Long before, Surrey has:

In her breast
Imprinted *stuck* his words.

Trans. of 4th Æneid, 5-6.

Modesty . . . should be painted true
With modest *out-parts*.

Id. I. i.

These painted men
All set on *outside*.

Id. II. i.

Outward maims.

Cæsar and Pompey, I. i.

Men's merely outward and false peace.

Tears of Peace.

Perhaps some sacred Godhead goes enclos'd
Even in his abject *outside*.

17th Odyssey, 645.

For all his gay *outside*.

Humorous Day's Mirth, Sc. viii. 190.

If tears, which so abundantly distil
Out of my inward eyes, and for a need
Can drown these outward.

All Fools, IV. i. 86.

Again, he uses the noun "inwards" with the correlative force:

On each side, dogs, of gold and silver fram'd,
The house's guard stood; which the Deity lam'd [Hephaistos]
With knowing *inwards* had inspired.

7th Odyssey, 126.

His view
Prov'd after, that his *inwards* were too rough
For such bold usage.

9th Odyssey, 327.

And most for man's use Mercury (whom good wise *inwards*
grace).

20th Iliad, 34.

And to match "outwards" in the physical sense we have:

And all the *inwards* put to spit.

Achilles' Shield.

Which done, the *inwards* slit,
They broil'd on coals and eat.

Trans. of *Iliad*, ii. 371.

So with *particular* :

All acts that seem
Ill in particular respects, are good
As they respect your universal rule.

Revenge of Bussy, II. i. 35.

Fifty gentlemen . . . with footmen particularly attending.

Mask of the Middle Temple.

There is no poem nor oration so general but hath his *one particular* proposition.

Defence app. to Mask.

For any motion of particular justice.

Cæsar and Pompey, I. i. 121.

Every man is so loaded with his particular head.

Pref. to Reader, with complete *Iliad*.

And yet Sarpedon seconds him, with this particular taunt.

Trans. of *Iliad*, v. 454.

His particular grudge.

Id. ib. 700.

One particular side.

Id. vi. 5.

More particular terms.

Id. ib. 147.

And, that his general beauty cannot stand
Without these stains in the particular man.

Bussy D'Ambois, V. i.; 182.

These *particular* tears of unvented anger in Achilles are in him most natural.

Comm. on B. i. of *Iliads* : note on l. 360.

Turning all
Particular to the pleasure general.

Eugenia, Vig. 2.

Each particular miss.

Id. Vig. 3.

The particular fame.

Trans. of *Odyssey*, xi. 690.

But fierce assistants of particular fear.

Id. xii. 112.

- This I simply told
To each particular. *Id. ib.* 243.
- You sons and daughters in particular state. *Id.* xiii. 79.
- In public roofs with our particular life. *Id.* xix. 167.
- In particular then
I told our pilot. *Id. ib.* 243.
- Their own particular wealth or honour. *Cæsar and Pompey*, I. i. 93.
- His own particular ends. *Id.* I. ii. 223.
- Particular men particular fates must bear. *Id.* III. 8.
- .
- And not entitle it particularly
To your acceptance. Dedication to *All Fools*.

“Sere,” finally, is one of his common words for “dry” (as “sere wood”), and he has “seared” in *THE WIDOW’S TEARS*, V. iii. 93.

§ 4. SYNTAX

As to syntax, Professor Mackail notes three specialties of the COMPLAINT :

(1) Ellipsis of subject :

- l. 5. Ere long [I] espied a fickle maid full pale.
- l. 272. And [it] sweetens, in the suffering pangs it bears.
- l. 312. And, veil'd in them, [he] did win whom he would
maim.

(2) Ellipsis of verb :

- l. 8. Upon her head [was] a platted hive of straw.
- l. 190. Among the many that mine eyes have seen [was]
Not one whose flame my heart so much as warm'd.

(3) Asyndeton : this is so largely used as to give a distinct colour to the style. The most striking instances are :

- ll. 44-7. gave the flood . . . cracked . . . found.
- ll. 51, 52. 'gan to tear ; cried, O false blood !
- ll. 170-4. And knew . . . heard . . . saw . . . thought.

Now, these are among the main structural marks of Chapman's style. Ellipsis or asyndeton may be exemplified in nearly every page he wrote :

That statue 'tis [that] still weeps for former thought.*

Ovid's Banquet, st. 3.

Why dance ye not, ye daughters of the wood ?

Wither forever, if [you do] not now rejoice.

Id. st. 20.

Ladies must be adored that are but fair ;

But [to be] apt besides with art to tempt the ear

In notes of nature, is a goddess' part.

Id. st. 29.

* Ellipsis of this kind is of course common in Shakespeare.

Then knit she up, *lest loose*, her glowing hair
Should scorch the centre, and incense the air.

Id. st. 70.

O how accursed are they [who] thy favour scorn.

Hymnus in Cynthiam.

But then how bless'd were they [whom] thy favour graces.

Id.

My glorious temple, great Lucifera,
That was the study of all Asia
Two hundred twenty summers to erect,
Built by Chersiphron thy architect.

Id.

She took out one,
Most large, most artful, chiefly fair, and shone
Like to a star.

15th Odyssey, 138.

I thought, till now
Thy wisdom was superior to [that of] all th' inhabitants
Of gleby Lycia; but now impute apparent wants
To that discretion thy words shew, *to say* I lost my ground
For Ajax' greatness.

17th Iliad, 142-6.

This was the point [that] pierced Hero to the heart.

Hero and Leander, iii.

Begot when father Judgment is away,
And, gossip-like, says because others say.

Id. ib.

Whose will was, they should stay and sacrifice
Whole hecatombs to Pallas, *to forgo*
Her high wraths to them.

3rd Odyssey, 195.

Close to him ascended
The duke Pisistratus, [who] the reins intended
And scourg'd, to force to field [the horses], who freely flew.

Id. 647-9.

An ox with speed
Cause [to be] hither brought.

Id. 567.

To wash at flood the weeds I cannot wear
Before repurified.

5th Odyssey, 85.

Though roofs far richer we far off possess,
 Yet, *from our native*, all our more is less.

9th Odyssey, 66.

A sight [that] taught magic his deep mystery
 Quicker in danger than Diana's eye.

Ovid's Banquet, st. 42.

One could give ten instances from this single poem. Ellipsis with Chapman is normal and natural; and it readily passes into sheer false grammar. Take the first four lines of THE SHADOW OF NIGHT: they defy parsing.

Great goddess, *to whose* throne in Cynthian fires
 This earthly altar endless fumes expires;
 Therefore, in fumes of sighs and fires of grief
 To fearful chances *thou send'st* bold relief.

The fifth section is equally inconstruable. Asyndeton is the least of Chapman's syntactical foibles, but he abounds in it. For instance:

For were not his fictions composed of the sinews and souls of all these, how could they defy fire, iron, and be combined with eternity?

Pref. to Reader, with Iliads.

In which kept house
 A man in shape immane, and monsterous,
 Fed all his flocks alone, nor would afford
 Commerce with men.

9th Odyssey, 267-70.

Whom God gives over they themselves forsake,
 Their griefs their joys, their God their devil, make.

18th Odyssey, 403-4.

And even my mean means, means had to maintain
 A wealthy house, and kept a manly prease,
 Was counted blessed, and the poor access
 Of any beggar did not scorn, but feed
 With often hand, and any man of need
 Reliev'd as fitted; kept my servants too . . .

19th Odyssey, 102.

Out rush'd amaz'd Eumæus; and let go
 The cup to earth that he had labour'd so,
 Cleans'd for the neat wine, did the prince surpris
 Kist his fair forehead, both his lovely eyes,
 Both his white hands, and tender tears distill'd.

16th Odyssey, 15-19.

Affirming that th' unalter'd destinies
 Not only have decreed he shall not die
 Apart his friends, but of necessity
 Enjoy their sights before those fatal hours,
 His country earth reach, and erected towers.

5th Odyssey, 148-52.

There came a commune beggar to the court,
 Who in the city begged of all resort,
 Excell'd in madness of the gut, drunk, eat,
 Past intermission, was most hugely great,
 Yet had no fibres in him nor no force.

18th Odyssey, 1-5.

See, now ascends the glorious bride of brides,
 Nuptials and triumphs glittering by her sides:
 Juno and Hymen do her train adorn,
 Ten thousand torches round about them borne:
 Dumb silence, mounted on the Cyprian star,
 With becks rebukes the winds before his car,
 Where she advanced; beats down with cloudy mace,
 The feeble light to black Saturnius' palace:
 Behind her, with a brace of silver hinds,
 In ivory chariot, swifter than the winds,
 Great Hyperion's hornèd daughter drawn,
 Enchantress-like deck'd in disparent lawn,
 Circled with charms and incantations
 That ride huge spirits, and outrageous passions.
 Music and mood she loves, but love she hates,
 As curious ladies do their public cates.

Hymnus in Noctem, end.

Ye living spirits then, if any live,
 Whom like extremss do like affections give,
 Shun, shun this cruel light, and end your thrall
 In these soft shades of sable funeral:
 From whence with ghosts whom vengeance holds from rest,
 Dog-fiends and monsters haunting the distressed,
 As men whose parents tyranny hath slain,
 Whose sisters rape and bondage do sustain.

Id. st. 17

Asyndeton is perhaps too mild a name for some of these constructions; and it may be left to expert grammarians to say where ellipsis or asyndeton, or another, is the epithet applicable in the following string of anomalies:

Time's motion, being like the reeling sun's,
 Or as the sea reciprocally runs,
 Hath brought us now to their opinions;
 As in our garments ancient fashions
 Are newly worn; and as sweet poesy
 Will not be clad in her supremacy
 With those strange garments (Rome's hexameters)
 As she is English; but in right prefers
 Our native robes (put on with skilful hands,
 English heroics) to those antic garlands,
 Accounting it no meed, but mockery,
 When her steep brows already prop the sky,
 To put on start-ups, and yet let it fall.

There seems to be a breathing-point here: whereafter we go on:

No otherwise (O queen celestial)
 Can we believe Ephesia's state will be,
 But spoil with foreign grace, and change with thee
 The pureness of thy-never tainted life,
 Scorning the subject title of a wife;
 Thy body not composèd in thy birth
 Of such condensèd matter as the earth.
 Thy shunning faithless men's society,
 Betaking thee to hounds and archery,
 To deserts and inaccessible hills,
 Abhorring pleasure in Earth's common ills,
 Commit most willing rapes on all our hearts.

Hymnus in Cynthiam.

Perhaps these samples will satisfy Professor Mackail that in any poem of Chapman's he can find instances of every vice or whim of style that he has noted in the COMPLAINT.

The whole SHADOW OF NIGHT, with all its difference of mood, is of much the same literary texture; and one passage might alone serve to reveal the author of the poem under scrutiny:

So slightly touch'd the panther with her scent
 This irksome covert, and away she went,
 Down to a fruitful island sited by,
 Full of all wealth, delight, and empery,
 Ever with child of curious architect,
 Yet still deliver'd; pav'd with dames select,
 On whom rich feet in foulest boots might tread,
 And never foul them; for kind Cupid spread
 Such perfect colours on their pleasing faces,
 That their reflects clad foulest weeds with graces.
 Beauty strikes fancy blind; pied show deceives us,
 Sweet banquets tempt our healths, when temper leaves us.

Such is his manner in his first published poem; and in his non-dramatic verse Chapman wrote very like that to the end; his translation of the *Odyssey* exhibiting on every page some of the peculiarities of the style of the *COMPLAINT*.

Some of these extracts, however, suggest one consideration that may be urged against the hypothesis of Chapman's authorship of the *COMPLAINT*—the fact, namely, that it contains no instance of his common practice of rhyming by false syllabic stress, as with *mace* and *palace*, *hands* and *garlands*. Usually the syllables are wrong, so that we are invited to read a rhyme by making a line lame. This annoying usage, common in his youth, and apparently deriving from a period in which such French stresses were not false,¹ pervades Chapman's earlier rhymed work, down to and including *HERO AND LEANDER*. He and Peele are the worst offenders; but Spenser, who perhaps led the way for his period, is also guilty; and it was something of a distinction on Shakespeare's part to eschew the abuse altogether. Now, the fact that it is eschewed in the *COMPLAINT*, but present in *HERO AND LEANDER*, raises the question whether the former, taken as Chapman's work, is not the later poem of the two.

It seems possible now to sketch a chronology. Archaistic false rhymes are frequent in *THE SHADOW OF NIGHT*, pub-

¹ Surrey, for instance, scans alternately *palace* and *palāce*, *altar* and *altār*.

lished in 1594. They are rather less frequent in OVID'S BANQUET, issued in 1595; but are still abundant in Chapman's part of HERO AND LEANDER. If we assume the partial reform to be a result of the example set in Shakespeare's VENUS (1593), and regard OVID'S BANQUET as a rival poem to that, we might similarly expect the COMPLAINT, written in the LUCRECE stanza, again with a certain air of competition, to show still further the influence of the reforming example. Now, Chapman's part of HERO AND LEANDER, though not published till 1598, appears to have been written years earlier, since in the lines:

Tell it [Marlowe's spirit] how much his late desires I tender,
 (If yet it know not), and to light surrender
 My soul's dark offspring,

he avows having recently published or arranged to publish his SHADOW OF NIGHT to fulfil his dead friend's wish. Further, Marlowe's unfinished poem was entered for publication in September 1593; and Chapman was likely to begin his continuation soon afterwards. We seem led to infer, then, that the HERO AND LEANDER continuation was written in 1594;¹ and that the COMPLAINT, written later, in direct rivalry with LUCRECE, makes the final capitulation to rhyme-reform as a result of Shakespeare's example, and, belike, of some discussion on the subject, in which the common patron probably took part. In the later poems the blemish hardly ever reappears. The Chapman hypothesis, then, is not necessarily shaken by the absence of archaistic rhymes from the COMPLAINT: it may even be thereby strengthened.

But we have still to establish our hypothesis by meeting, so far as may be, the critical challenge set up by Professor Mackail's list of words and meanings special to the COMPLAINT in the Shakespeare Concordance. It is only over these that we can claim a "decision."

¹ This was the view of Fleay, who puts it "circa 1594-5."

§ 5. THE VOCABULARY

FIRST we have a list of twenty-three words not found in the Shakespeare concordance outside of the COMPLAINT :

Plaintful (l. 2)	Brownny (85)	Phraseless (225)
Untuck'd (31)	Termless (94)	Congest (258)
Sheav'd (31)	Habitude (114)	Supplicant (276)
Maund (36)	Weepingly (207)	Extincture (294)
Affectedly (48)	Annexions (208)	Plenitude (302)
Enswath'd (49)	Invis'd (212)	Unexperient (318)
Fluxive (50)	Pensiv'd (219)	Lover'd (230)
Fastly (61)	Enpatron (224)	

To these should be added :

Blusterer (58), Sawn (91), Appertainings (115), Ender (222), Aloes (273).

Professor Mackail adds another list of seven that are substantially non-Shakespearean :

Sistering (l. 2) : *sister* as a verb occurs in one of the prologues in PERICLES, which are generally held to be wholly non-Shakespearean.

Forbod (l. 164) = forbidden.

Acture (l. 185) : but *enacture* occurs in HAMLET.

Paled (l. 198), meaning not, as in Shakespeare, fenced, but pale : it may be merely a variant spelling of *pallid*.

Encrimson'd (l. 201) : but *crimson'd* occurs in JULIUS CAESAR.

Impleach'd (l. 205) : but *pleach'd* occurs in MUCH ADO.

Blend (l. 215) parti-coloured : *blended* in an analogous sense occurs in TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, IV. v. : "this blended knight, half Trojan and half Greek."

To this list should be added *sleided* (48), which occurs only in PERICLES, Gower Prologue to Act IV. 21.

Yet a third list, of sixteen words used in a different sense from their Shakespearean use, is evidentially perhaps—so far as it will stand—the most important of all:

Fickle (l. 5), meaning delicate or "nesh."

Storming (l. 7), with the sense of raising-a-storm-over: "storming her world."

Occasion (l. 86), in the sense of impact.

Parcels (l. 87), meaning locks of hair.

Phœnix (l. 93), used as an adjective, and apparently meaning newly-sprouting.

Cost (l. 96), apparently in the sense of coat (*coste*, *côte*). It is curious that there is the converse doubt in l. 235, where *coat* seems to mean *cost*, though it may perhaps have its ordinary meaning.

Charmed (l. 146), in the sense of exercising charm.

Mood (l. 201), in the sense of tint or colour.

Talents (l. 204), meaning locks of (ruddy or golden) hair, like *parcels*, already cited.

Radiance (l. 214), used in a highly technical sense = power of vision, in accordance with one particular theory as to the nature of the sense of sight.

Similes (l. 227), apparently meaning, or substituted through confusion for, symbols: a most curious usage. *Simile* in the ordinary sense is fairly common in Shakespeare.

Distract (l. 231), as an adjective = separate.

Suit (l. 234), used collectively and = body of suitors.

Caged (l. 249), in the sense of cage-like or encaging.

Impress (l. 267), in the sense of strike against or attack.

Suffering (l. 272), with the meaning of painful.

In his first list Professor Mackail points to "the large number of Latinisms: *fluxive*, *habitude*, *annexion*, *congest* (=heap together), *supplicant*, *extincture*, *plenitude*, *unexperient*; and the fondness for coining adverbs: *affectedly*, *fastly*, *weepingly*; and participles: *sheav'd*, *pensiv'd*, *lover'd*."

In the second and third lists he again stresses the author's fondness "for Latinisms (*occasion*, *distract*, *impress*); and for participial neologisms (*storming* and *suffering*, analogously to *sistering*); and *charm'd* and *cag'd*, analogously to *sheav'd*, *pensiv'd*, *lover'd*."

All these, we shall see, are in the manner of Chapman;

but at this point I would suggest some qualifications in regard to the third list. I doubt, to begin with, whether the word *fickle*, in line 5, has been correctly printed. Neither in Chapman nor anywhere else have I seen the word used with the force of "delicate, or 'nesh'." There is no such word in the New English Dictionary. It seems reasonable to suppose that the author wrote "sickly," or possibly *brickle*, or *brittle*.¹ It is doubtful, again, whether *occasion*, in line 86, really means "impact": it is probably only a stretching of the ordinary miscellaneous use of the word, which Chapman employs constantly. *Coat* in line 96 may mean "coat," but *coat* in line 236, I suspect, really does mean just clothing, and is a mark of Chapman, who uses it many times. *Mood* in line 201 hardly signifies colour: it is just a Chapmanesque coercion of a word, with the suggestion "in the blushing mood"; and *parcels* in line 87 means simply bunches or *portions*; not "locks-of-hair" specifically, but *parcels of hair* (see line 231). "Silken" is a favourite adjective of Chapman's. The confusion of *simile* (a word he often uses, as does Shakespeare) with "symbol" is quite in his way of diction. His uses of "ingenious" and "ingenuous," for instance, cannot be discriminated. *Suit*, finally (l. 234), may just mean "dress," though it is hard to understand the next line:

Whose rarest havings made the blossoms dote.

It seems to suggest rich embroidery. All the other words in the list, we shall see, are either actually used by Chapman or quite in his manner.

Yet a fourth list has similar evidential importance, consisting as it does of twelve words only once or rarely used by Shakespeare in his plays, and not found in his genuine poems:

Reward (l. 1), also in HAMLET.

Concave (l. 1), also in JULIUS CÆSAR.

¹ Chapman calls woman "a most brittle creature." *All Fools*, I. i.

Pelleted (l. 18), also in ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

Orbed (earth) (l. 25), also in HAMLET (orbed ground).

Commix (l. 28), also in CYMBELINE.

Pieced (= enhanced) (l. 119), also in ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, CORIOLANUS,
WINTER'S TALE.

Dialogue (as verb) (l. 132), also in TIMON OF ATHENS.

Brokers (l. 173), also in HAMLET.

Amplify (l. 209), also in CORIOLANUS, KING LEAR, CYMBELINE.

Cautel (l. 303), also in HAMLET.

To which I would add :

Real (l. 114), also in ALL'S WELL and CORIOLANUS.

Finally it is noted that two of the words in the first list, *annexions* and *extincture*, may be compared with *annexment* in HAMLET and *extincted* in OTHELLO : and that two more, *termless* and *phraseless*, may be compared with *shunless* and *aidless*, which occur in one line in CORIOLANUS.

On this head we may say at once that while word-making of the kind under notice was a common activity with many Elizabethans, no one was more devoted to it than Chapman. He is the supreme neologist among the poets, as is Nashe among the writers of prose. An incomplete collection of his specialties ¹ in adjectives, adverbs, participles, and nouns will make the fact clear at once :

Adjectives in *y* : orby, leavy, cliffy, cavy, gulfy, foody, torchy, planky, sulphury, wolfy, spurry, mitigatory, imperatory, yoky, oxy, fevery, flamy, nervy, herby, gleby, yieldy, barky, owly, fistulary, rooty, artly.

Adjectives in *less* : Partless (= impartial), gloriless, fameless, blushless, reasonless, expectless, taintless, accessless, sweetless, speedless, seemless (= unseemly), wayless, worthless (= unworthy), respectless, gutless, fellowless, returnless.

Adjectives in *ful* : adviceful, assistful, amendsful, conceitful, directful, contentful, contemptful, charmful, estrangeful, exciteful, expenseful, eyeful, lengthful, nestful, noiseful,

¹ Not all these are of his invention, but many seem to be ; and only a few are found in the other dramatists,

faultful, praiseful, placeful, proofful, showful, sightful, spiritful, spoilful, soundful, relentless, topful, grapeful.

Adverbs: foreignly, feastfully, foldedly, displeasedly, futurely, aversively, guardfully, headlongy, headlongly, spoilfully, showfully, sudden'stly, wishly (= wishfully), wishedly, prostrately, prostitutely.

Participles: author'd, conected, dissavaged, fellow'd, furnaced, insea'd, heir'd, unheir'd, odour'd, ill-lung'd, foully-languaged, father'd, uncle'd, person'd, scandal'd, substanced, unsilenc'd, vapour'd, brass-foundation'd, damaskt, Christmas'd, arras'd, taper'd.

Nouns ending in ure: appeasure, attainture, contempature, corporature, disposure, expansure, expressure, circumvecture, expulsure, facture, flexure, fluxure, extensure, exhausture, opposure, supposure, sumpture.

Nouns ending in ion: addiction, addression, aversation, discession, descension, dismissal, egression, eversion, expunction, deduction (= bringing away), inclamation, insultation, redition, reminiscion, repunction, ingression, susception, suspicion, transcension.

Nouns feminine ending in ess: Ambassadors, contendress, guidress, inhabitress, waggoness, butleress, tutress, creditress, philosophress, administress, ministress, doctress, inter-nunciess.

Nouns ending in er: apprehender, assumer, abider, blesser, circler, comprehender, assailer, decreer, doter, enjoyer, enterer, expugner, frighter, imposer, law-menders and suppliers, saver, studier, utterer, understander, villainizer, concluder, flockers, hurter, marcher, goers (= legs), walkers (= legs), encouragers.

Of these words a large number are used by Chapman only once, and few of them often. He is remarkable equally for his mannerism in respect of words which he overworks *ad nauseam* and for his frequent framing or reviving of new or old terms "for the nonce" only.

§ 6. SPECIAL CLUES TO CHAPMAN

MANY of Chapman's coinages or revivals, it will be seen, are in the ordinary way of word-making and archaism, and a number which have not entered into the common stock might usefully have done so. In any case, it is clear that he was equal to the invention of all the odd words in the COMPLAINT. Before, however, coming to the notation of those of them which he did apparently coin, I would specify yet a further set of words, used at times by Shakespeare, but more frequently by Chapman. In different degrees, they all strengthen the claim for his authorship.

A preliminary caution and explanation may be offered to students who have not worked at vocabulary tests, and who may have been confused by the lore of the Baconists. Some of the latter, and their congeners, finding their own claims confuted by proof that words and phrases which they supposed to be special to Bacon and Shakespeare were in universal Elizabethan use, fallaciously protest that any attempt to trace by vocabulary the authorship of anonymous or disputed plays is on all fours with their procedure. Properly conducted, it really differs from their devices as does astronomy from astrology. Baconics takes for granted exactly what we are concerned to dispute—the absolute authorship by Shakespeare of all plays and poems *ascribed* to him by his editors. The critical method is one of discrimination: Baconics begins and ends in indiscrimina- tion. Where criticism is concerned to find by internal evidence what is genuine and what spurious, the Baconist takes the entire Folio as *necessarily* from one hand, and

undertakes to show that all that is in the Folio and the poems is Baconic. If it be asked whether "Shakespeare" wrote the "Apocrypha," Baconism has no rational answer to offer, since the Baconic method will equally avail to assign to Bacon anything and everything belonging to Bacon's age.

The rational critic who undertakes to prove that X wrote all or part of the work *a*, commonly ascribed to Y, must go about to show that certain marks which are more or less peculiar to the work of X, and *absent* or uncommon in the accepted work of Y, are frequent in the piece discussed. And even this is only one of the necessary tests: a satisfying proof must include others, and set forth a concurrence of marks—as style, verse, idea, image. Merely to say that *a* has marks found in X, and must therefore be his, would be like including in the *genus homo* all animals which have hair, skin, teeth, or eyes, because Man has these marks. And this is substantially the method of the Baconist, who has no check-test to apply. Those of versification are denied to him, and those of general style he ignores. But even the vocabulary test he applies without knowledge or logic. His way is to take *any* phrase, any thought or image, any word metaphorically used, that is to be found in Bacon and Shakespeare, and claim that the common use points to a common author. The obvious duty of ascertaining whether other authors commonly use the same word in the same way he hardly ever contemplates. A boundless ignorance of Elizabethan literature has thus given currency to the claim that such metaphor-words as ape, bowels, cloud, dregs, scour, swelling, mountain, ocean, sea, painted, top, sinews, sovereign, spice, wilderness, shadow, weed, and so on, being similarly used by both writers, go to prove that Bacon wrote the Plays. But these words were freely used in the same way by *everybody* in the period; and the claim is pure folly. By such a test Bacon could be proved to have written any of the books issued in his adult life; and,

per contra, any contemporary could be proved to have written any of his. Equally Jonson or Chapman could be proved to have written all Shakespeare, and Shakespeare all Jonson and Chapman. The Baconist method is outside of logic.

Otherwise absurd is the plan of citing all manner of words in the Plays which seem to the Baconist to be "classical" coinages, by way of proving the play-writer's scholarship, without making the slightest investigation as to their previous currency. When a Hallam could suppose that the physical meaning of "translate," a word used with that force in the current versions of the Bible, was an uncommon Latinism for Shakespeare's day, it may be guessed how the ordinary Baconist riots in that direction.

A semblance of rational method is set up when apparently peculiar *phrases* or *thoughts* are noted in both writers. Specific ideas and *habitual* phrases are *among* the clues by which an author may be traced in anonymous or composite or falsely assigned contemporary work. But a first requisite for even such tentative tracing is some little knowledge of the literature of the period. When the Baconist holds up his hands over a duplication of the phrase "a green wound," or "play his prize," or "sparks hid under ashes," or "starting-holes," or "love creeps where it cannot go," he merely proves his ignorance of the mass of Tudor literature. As a matter of fact the Baconist is daily faced by the deadly dilemma of dropping his monomania or plunging (as a number do) into the infinite mania of assigning to Bacon the bulk of Elizabethan literature, with Montaigne added.

The difference between the rational and the irrational use of verbal clues is simply the difference between a carefully checked and an utterly unchecked induction. Every such clue must be checked by other tests; and every theory of the presence of a given author must be checked by an inquiry as to whether other authors are not equally eligible

as claimants. Broadly speaking, the clue from vocabulary is simply "first aid" in a quandary; and first aid is admittedly precarious. Fleay, for instance, was apt to assign to Lodge any anonymous contemporary play in which he found the phrase "cooling card"; and he was doubly sure when he found in the same play "razor of Palermo." But the first clue is certainly hazardous, for the phrase is used by other dramatists. When we have noted that Peele is much given to the tag of "sandy plains," it is reasonable to surmise his hand in an anonymous play of his period in which that tag occurs ostensibly at random, provided that we can say that so far as we know no other dramatist so uses it. But even when that can be said of the tic-phrase, we have to consider further whether the play under consideration is otherwise in Peele's style. An anonymous writer might have caught up his tag. Lodge, for instance, repeats the phrase "divine instinct" in his *WOUNDS OF CIVIL WAR*; and one is thereby encouraged to assent to Fleay's ascription to him of a share in the *TROUBLESOME RAIGNE OF KING JOHN*, where the phrase also occurs. But Chapman too adopts it, and the problem demands further elucidation.

And there remains the contingency of deliberate imitation. At the Academy, everybody can distinguish between the work of Mr. Brangwyn and that of Mr. Blank; but when an intelligent admirer of Mr. Brangwyn works with his mind on Mr. Brangwyn's colour effects he may set some of us looking at our catalogues; and where there is no catalogue, and no signature, such imitations have in the past given the critics much trouble. It has taken a whole critical school, latterly, to secure correct assignments in the case of a number of Old Masters—and Apprentices.¹

¹ In the case before us, it has occurred to Professor Mackail that there might have been a deliberate resort to parody. But, as he justly decides, there is no semblance of parody in the poem, which is elaborately serious,

Between the anonymous plays and the disputed plays ascribed to Shakespeare and others, the Elizabethan drama is still a happy hunting ground for any one who will undertake to apply equivalent scientific methods there. Ultimately, the right tests are settled by common sense, vigilantly applied. As Fleay argued, the logic of such investigations is substantially the logic of the physical sciences. Word-clues and clues of phrase, tag, idea, theme, manner, mannerism, and total technique, are all licit so far as they go; only they must be checked and corroborated. Generally speaking, we are entitled to suppose that plays were written by playwrights, and poems by poets, not by Lord Chancellors or bishops; if we argue otherwise we need some extra evidence. But even a plausible and partly justified hypothesis may turn out to be wrong; and there is nothing for it but to justify our hypothesis as fully and carefully as we can, and leave it to run the gauntlet of logical analysis, counter-evidence, and counter theory.

In the case now in hand, having already offered grounds in chronology, biography, style, substance, and syntax for the Chapman hypothesis, I propose to seek corroboration through verbal clues of three kinds:

1. Words in the COMPLAINT that are used there and by Chapman in his signed work with a different *force* (or scansion) from that in which they are used by Shakespeare.
2. Words in the COMPLAINT that are used very similarly and very frequently by Chapman—what we may term *tic-words*, though possibly used also by Shakespeare.
3. Words occurring *only* in the COMPLAINT according to the Shakespeare concordance.

It will be obvious to any reasonable mind that such clues are profoundly different in value from the methods above discussed. And to the grounds for inference so supplied I shall add a number drawn from analogies of more or less uncommon phrase between the COMPLAINT and Chapman's

signed work—analogies not decisive in themselves, but important as corroborations.

And first as to words used in an apparently Chapmanesque way :

1. *Authorized*.—This occurs only twice in the Shakespeare concordance apart from the COMPLAINT :

(1) A woman's story at a winter fire,
Authorized by her grandam.

Macbeth, III. iv. 66.

Here both the meaning and the accentuation are ostensibly different from those of the word in the COMPLAINT :

His rudeness so with his authòrized youth
Did livery falseness in a pride of truth.

The double difference is highly significant, and when we find in Sonnet 35 the line :

(2) Authòrizing thy trespass with compare,

we are divided between the doubt before suggested as to the authenticity of that Sonnet and the question whether, supposing it to be genuine, Shakespeare was there using a scansion which he had heard from Chapman. The meaning here is not that conveyed in *MACBETH*. I cannot with any confidence press the possibility that Sonnet 35 might be Chapman's, though the jolting line :

Excusing their sins more than their sins are,

is of a kind that he often produces ; and that other :

For to thy sensual fault I bring in sense,¹

conveys (obscurely enough) a kind of thought and phrase common with him. Shakespeare of course might echo both words and thoughts of Chapman's, as he echoes Drayton, Sidney, Daniel, and Greene elsewhere in the Sonnets.

¹ Some of the early reprinters read "incense"; and this is worth considering, though apparently fantastic.

But whatever view we may take of Sonnet 35, it must be allowed that both meaning and scansion in the COMPLAINT point to Chapman. Compare :

Men must authòrize it [Scripture] ; antiquities
Must be explored, to spirit and give it thigs.

Hymn to Christ upon the Cross, 67.

And where with dove-like sweet humility
They all things should authòrize or deny.

Andromeda Liberata, 60.

May well authòrize all your acts of note.

Id. 75.

The forms
Of judgment in authòrized men, that in their courts maintain,
With violent office, wrested laws.

Trans. of Iliad, xvi. 367.

Grac'd
With all choice of authòrized power.

13th Odyssey, 14.

As illustrating the variability of Elizabethan scansions, we may note that Chapman has the lines :

But all this shall not make me break the còmmerce
Authoriz'd by our treaties.

Bryon's Tragedy, V. i. 66.

where he seems to depart not only from his usual pronunciation of the word before us, but to read *còmmerce*, where he usually has *commèrce*. It is just possible, however, that he meant here to make his usual stresses.

2. *Dialect*.—The only other uses of this word in the Shakespeare concordance are :

To go out of my dialect, which you discommend so much.

Lear, II. ii. 115.

In her youth
There is a prone and speechless dialect
Such as move men.

Measure for Measure, I. ii. 188.

In the first case, the meaning is literal: Kent has been talking hyperbolically; and Cornwall asks: "What mean'st by this?" In the second, the word is metaphorical. In the COMPLAINT (125) it means either dialectic = persuasive skill, or command of special phrase:

He had the dialect and different skill,
Catching all passions in his craft of will.

Both senses occur in Chapman:

Alas, why lent not heaven the soul a tongue?
Nor language, nor *peculiar dialect*
To make her high conceits so highly sung?
Ovid's Banquet, st. 112.

Their word-for-word traductions where they lose
The free grace of their natural dialect.
Pref. to Reader, with complete *Iliad*.

Of translation and the natural difference of dialects necessarily
to be observed in it.
Id. note.

Perhaps the first use approximates to that in the line from MEASURE FOR MEASURE; but at least it coincides substantially with that in the COMPLAINT. Again, we have "the Latin dialect" in SIR GILES GOOSECAP; and "to save the liberty and dialect of mine own language" in the preface to the JUSTIFICATION OF A STRANGE ACTION OF NERO.

3. *Deified*.—This word occurs only in the COMPLAINT among the poems; and the verb occurs only once in all the plays:

All, forsooth, deifying the name of Rosalind.
As You Like It, III. ii. 381.

This use is metaphorical, while that in the COMPLAINT is relatively literal or primary:

And when in his fair parts she [Love] did abide,
She was new lodged and newly deified.

Love, already a goddess (for the poet here makes Love female), is deified anew. Now, this corresponds closely with Chapman's practice :

And thus blest Hymen joy'd his gracious bride,
And for his joy was after deified.

Hero and Leander, V. (Tale of Teras).

These acts, in some part left,
Tell us, as others, deified seed of Jove.

1st Odyssey, 18.

Whoever thou art of the Deified.

4th Odyssey, 509.

And he that was in person deified,
Eurymachus.

Id. 839.

Up to Olympus, the firm continent,
That bears in endless being the deified kind.

6th Odyssey, 63.

Are you of mortal, or the deified, race ?

Id. 221.

Which no power beside
Can boast, of men, or of the deified.

9th Odyssey, 705.

O Jove, and all ye deified.

12th Odyssey, 531.

He replied: "I hold
No deified state."

16th Odyssey, 241.

Atrides, guarded with heaven's deified host.

5th Odyssey, 84.

The deified supremes.

18th Odyssey, 280.

Exonerate
Our sinking vessel of his deified load [*i.e.* Bacchus].

Trans. of Hom. Hymn to Bacchus.

The deified King [Apollo]
Of that unshorn and everlasting spring.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

And these gifts only let thy deified mind
Be circularly pleased with.

Id.

The deified Graces.

Trans. of Georgics of Hesiod, i.

He hangs in the clouds deified with Hymen's shape.

The Widow's Tears, III. ii.

Whose [Aphrodite's] virtue Helen felt and knew, by her so
radiant eyes,

White neck, and most enticing breasts, the deified disguise.

3rd Iliad, 415-16.

For this does she look to be deified, to have hymns made of her.

The Widow's Tears, IV. i.

It is nearly always with this primary and literal force that Chapman uses the word ; and he uses it very often.

4. *Precedent*.—This word is used in the COMPLAINT (155) in the sense of warning-example :

But ah ! who ever shunn'd by precedent
The destin'd ills she must herself assay ?

In VENUS AND ADONIS (26) we have a different use :

His sweating palm
The precedent of pith and livelihood ;

and in LUCRECE (1261) yet another :

The precedent whereof in Lucrece view :

where the meaning is simply "instance," or "type." In the plays the word occurs frequently, most often in its accepted sense, sometimes as an adjective, *précédent* (= preceding). In KING JOHN (V. ii. 3) "precedent" means the draft of a document. In Chapman the word always seems to signify either example (model) or warning :

King's precedents in licensse lack no danger.

Revenge of Bussy, IV. i.

His deeds inimitable, like the sea
That shuts still as it opes, and leaves no tracts
Nor prints of precedent for poor men's facts.'

Bussy D'Ambois, I. i.

All Homer's books are such as have been precedents ever
since of all sorts of poems.

Epist. Ded. to the Earl Marshal,
Pref. to *Achilles' Shield*.

Sacred precedents to every one.

Shadow of Night, i.

Princely precedents
Which here, in all kinds, my true zeal presents.

Ep. Ded. to Prince Henry, with
first Twelve Books of the *Iliad*.

Mad'st a commanding precedent of these.

Hymn to Christ upon the Cross.

Derive their springs
From their base precedents, copied out of kings.

Byron's Tragedy, V. i.

Let my slaves' use [i.e. torture], sir, be your precedent.

Cæsar and Pompey, end.

Give [my arm] strength that by my precedent
I may excite my men to blows.

16th *Iliad*, 489.

A worthy precedent for all the world.

Sir Giles Gooscap, V. ii. 313.

By moving precedent to all his kind.

Id., III. ii. 112.

Who shall serve as a glass for him to see
His faults, and mend them to his precedent.

All Fools, I. i. 336.

5. *Hail*.—The use of this word in the COMPLAINT appears to be non-Shakespearean. It occurs nowhere else in the poems; and the verb only occurs twice in the plays, in the

' In Tudor times this word had the normal force of *acts*.

sense of "showering down." Professor Mackail notes something peculiar in the expression in the COMPLAINT (310):

That not a heart which in his level came
Could 'scape the hail of his all-hurting aim.

Again the cue seems to be to Chapman:

In noise of that sweet hail [of comfits] her cries were drown'd.
Hero and Leander, V. 404.

And in his [Jove's] bitterest hails his murmurs broke.
Trans. of *Juvenal's Fifth Satire*.

In sharpest hails.
Tears of Peace.

6. *Spongy*.—Nowhere else in the poems does this word occur. In the COMPLAINT the line (326) runs:

O that sad breath his spongy lungs bestowed

—a tolerably un-Shakespearean utterance. In the plays we have "spongy April," "spongy south," "spongy officers," "spongy to suck in . . .," none of which expressions suggests the capacity to put the line before us in the mouth of a betrayed maiden. Chapman, however, may be pronounced capable of it, and he uses *spongy* several times in his early poems:

Virtues obscur'd and banishèd the day,
With all the glories of this spongy sway,
Prison'd in flesh.
Hymnus in Noctem, § 14.

Earth, at this spring, spongy and languorsome.
Amorous Zodiac, st. 7.

and also later:

Not touching at this base and spongy mould.
Hymn to Christ upon the Cross

Again he describes the human body as

This breathing sepulchre, this sponge of grief,
Tears of Peace;

and his use of the epithet "ill-lung'd" occurs in a line—

Ill-lung'd, ill-liver'd, ill-complexion'd Spite.
Trans. of Georgics of Hesiod, 1—

which chimes noticeably with that cited from the COMPLAINT. The occurrence of "ill-lung'd" in SIR GILES GOOSECAP (I. iv. 43) is one of the many items of phrase and idea by which Professor Parrott substantiates Chapman's authorship of that play.¹

7. *Carriage*.—In lines 22–23 :

Sometimes her levell'd eyes their carriage ride
As they did battery to the spheres intend,

the use of "carriage" is only a straining of the ordinary Elizabethan meaning of "bearing," found in Shakespeare. But the "ride" suggests a bad pun, and the noun happens to be a favourite of Chapman's, at times ill employed :

As being a carriage special hard to bear
Occurrents, these occurrents being so dear.
Hero and Leander, iv. (Tale of Teras).

He show'd a sunlike power
In carriage of his goodly parts.

6th Iliad, 552.

¹ Among other tic-words of Chapman found in it are "exempt" (twice), "outward" (twice), "radiant" (thrice), "christal" (twice), "precedent" (twice), "judicial" (twice), "pomps," "titillation," "unchastity," and "commixed." "Dance attendance" in this play (II. i. 62) is an echo of "dance profane attendance" in his lines *To M. Harriots*—both phrases antedating that in *Henry VIII*. The Latin sentence quoted by Momford in II. i. 170, is the motto of *Andromeda Liberata*, repeated in the opening lines of its Epistle Dedicatory, and anticipated in *Ovid's Banquet* and *Hero and Leander*, and elsewhere. But indeed the blank-verse is so absolutely Chapman's that it is needless to labour the case.

His carriage still is cheerful and secure.

Virgil's Epigram of a Good Man.

Do not fright
Your hearkening kingdoms to your carriage now.

Epicedium.

Prepare your courtliest carriage for the Duke.

Gentleman Usher, I. i.

Put on eagle eyes
To pry into her carriage.

All Fools, II. i.

Yet her even carriage is as far from coyness
As from immodesty.

Monsieur D'Olive, I. i.

I knew my carriage to be such as no stain can obscure.

Id., V. i.

The something-stooping carriage of my neck.

Byron's Conspiracy, III. ii. 146.

O, the strange carriage of their acts, by which
Men order theirs.

Cæsar and Pompey, IV. iii. 40.

With a good carriage.

Bussy D'Ambois, I. i. 93.

8. This is the place to notice, further, one or two more instances of Chapman phrases and ideas found in the COMPLAINT. Concerning Professor Mackail's comment on the line about errors of the blood which are not of the mind I observed that it points to Chapman. We have the idea here:

The heavenly dame [Clytemnestra]
A good mind had, but was in blood to blame.

3rd Odyssey, 365,

—where Homer (266) simply tells that Clytemnestra had a good mind or understanding, saying nothing of blood. The notion is Chapman's own, or rather a current formula,

adopted by him.¹ It occurs in BUSSY D'AMBOIS four times in one scene (V. iv. 79, 178, 189) :

And must my *mind*
Follow my *blood*?

My *soul* more scruple breeds than my *blood*, sin.²
Nor never honour'd been, in *blood*, or *mind*.

Cease, my *blood*
To wrestle with my honour, fame, and *judgment* ;

and in BYRON'S TRAGEDY (I. i. 81) :

And plain he told them that although his *blood*
Being moved by Nature, were a very fire,
And boil'd in apprehension of a wrong ;
Yet should his *mind* hold such a sceptre there
As would contain it from all act and thought
Of treachery or ingratitude to his prince.

Yet again, in AN HUMOROUS DAY'S MIRTH, Count Labervele says of his wife (I. i.) :

'Tis to be doubted that when an object comes
Fit to her humour, she will intercept
Religious letters sent unto her *mind*,
And yield unto the motion of her *blood*.

and in CÆSAR AND POMPEY (III. i. 17) we have the variant :

That what decay soever *blood* inferr'd
Might with my *mind's* store be supplied and cheer'd.

In THE TEARS OF PEACE we have yet another statement of the thought :

There is a joy of soul; and why not then
A grief of soul, that is no scathe to men ?
For both are passions, though not such as reign
In blood and humour, that engender pain.

¹ Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 74.

² One of two lines (between 173 and 174) not accepted in Professor Parrott's edition.

And though he reflects in another passage that :

Strange cross in nature, purest virgin shame
Lies in the blood, as lust lies, and together
Many times mix too

(*Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, I. ii. 33),

Chapman many times uses "blood" in this (the ordinary Elizabethan) figurative application. We have the idea in the first book of his *Iliad* translation (l. 195) :

While these thoughts striv'd in his *blood and mind* ;

again in the third book (229) :

I learn'd the wisdom of their *souls*, and humours of their *blood*.

and again in the 20th *Odyssey* (292-3) :

Being a man as well
Given to his *mind's* use as to buy and sell,
Or do the drudgery that the *blood* desir'd.

9. Again, the "precious" line (67) :

Her grievance with his hearing *to divide*

has many analogues in Chapman. *E.g.* :

Nor do I hope but even your high affairs
May suffer intermixture with her [Poesy's] view.
Sonnet to Earl of Northumberland, with *Iliads*.

Nor doth he [Tityus] ever labour *to divide*
His liver and their [the vultures'] beaks.
11th Odyssey, 788.

Never endure that any roof shall part
Mine eyes and heaven.
Bussy D'Ambois, V. iv. 199.

I swear that *divides*
Your wondering reader far from your applause.
Justification of Perseus and Andromeda.

10. The equally fantastic passage (17-18) :

Laundering the silken figures in the *brine*
That *season'd* woe had pelleted in *tears*,

recalls :

Season'd with *tears* her joys to see more joys the more offence.
3rd *Iliad*, 151 ,

and

How his *tears* led others, all the fane
Flowing with such *brine-seasoning* parts humane.
Eugenia, Vigil, 3.

It is to be noted that similar figures about tears, brine, and seasoning occur twice in the Shakespeare plays :

And water once a day her chamber round
With eye-offending *brine* : all this to *season*
A brother's dead love.

Twelfth Night, I. i. 29.

'Tis [tears] the best *brine* a maiden can *season* her praise in.
All's Well, I. i. 55.

We shall have occasion to consider later whether in both cases it is Shakespeare who uses this tag. Here, then, in a long series of instances, we have the very preciousness, the odd contortion of thought and language, which Professor Mackail notes as pervading the COMPLAINT. And in no contemporary of Shakespeare's can it be so paralleled as in Chapman.

11. We find him again in the passage (76) :

If I had *self-applied*
Love to *myself* and to no love beside.

Such tautology, in pursuit of metre, points to Chapman's tic of combining "self" with other words. He has, for instance :

Self-ability, self-tire ("the self-tire barking dogs," 16th Od. 5), self-store ("served with self-store," 5th Od. 664), self-humour, self-lives, self-fortunes, self-desire, self-greatest, self-estates, self-loved, self-loves, self-race, self-distinction, self-powers,

besides such normal forms as *self-flattery*, *self-pitying*, *self-praise*, *self-loving*; and "apply" (see line 68) is one of his words-of-all-use. No other writer employs it so often and so variously, though there are examples in Marlowe, whom Chapman copied in many things.

12. Students of Chapman will be apt to say that the line in the COMPLAINT (250):

Religious love put out Religion's eye,

is very much in his manner. In BYRON'S CONSPIRACY (III. i. 14) we have:

Storms and clouds mixing suddenly *put out*
The eyes of all those glories, the creation
Turn'd into Chaos.

He is bolder far
That present life reaves, but he crueller
That, to the to-be-born, envies the light,
And *puts their eyes out* ere they have their sight.
Andromeda Liberata, near end.

In the latter passage the idea is that he "who, beloved, not yielding love again," refuses to have offspring, is a Homicide; and the phrase "put their eyes out" is thus again metaphorical. It is a Chapmanism. In the translation of the Odyssey we have both the literal and the metaphorical use of the phrase:

Who past all mean
The Muse affected, gave him good and ill,
His eyes put out, but put in soul at will.

viii. 80.

And by the wit his [Ulysses'] wits apply
He puts him [Polyphemus] out his only eye.

Argument to 9th Odyssey.

With his wine
Put out the flame where all my light did shine.¹

9th Odyssey, 695.

¹ Note here the "theory of vision" discussed below, p. 86. Homer simply says (516): "blinded my eye, after overcoming me with wine."

13. Finally, the odd line (225):

O, then, advance *of yours* that phraseless hand,

of the affected structure of which Professor Mackail makes note, is simply a case of inversion under stress of rhyme or metre, such as occurs scores of times in Chapman:

Heaven's white-arm'd Queen (who, everywhere *cut short*,
Beholding her lov'd Greeks, *by death*), suggested it.

1st Iliad, 53-54.

Because I rather wish to err with Cato
Than with the truth go of the world besides.

Cæsar and Pompey, III. i. 117.

T' enjoy your sight, doth admiration seize
My eyes, and apprehensive faculties.

6th Odyssey, 241-2.

The Deity I am'd [*i.e.* Hephaistos]

7th Odyssey, 125.

And of *both them*, she
By Pallas' counsel was to have the grace
Of foremost greeting.

Id. 172-4.

The unhappy wanderer,
To too much sorrow whom his mother bore.

3rd Odyssey, 132-3.

With open voice, offended Jupiter
Proclaim'd the voyage his repugnant mind,
And pour'd the puffs out of a shrieking wind.

Id. 398-400.

Him will I
His horns in gold hid, give thy Deity.

Id. 521-2.

This speech grief to tears
(Pour'd from the son's lids on the earth) his ears,
Told of the father, did excite.

4th Odyssey, 144-6.

Of whom, so well remember'd, I should now
Acknowledge for me his continual flow
Of cares and perils, yet still patient.

Id. 192-4.

With admiration strike
His looks my thoughts.

Id. 179-80.

When so spritely fly
I saw the yellow smoke.

10th Odyssey, 193-4.

This said, they frolickt, came, and lookt upon
With admiration the huge-bodied beast.

Id. 232-3.

But only that the crying blood for vengeance of my friend.

18th Iliad, 83.

All this is like the use of the "split infinitive," of which Chapman is the first notable practitioner, though Bishop Pecoock has primitive forms of it. Chapman has at least nine instances: 12th Od. 500; 15th Od. 204, 272; 17th Od. 327, 700; 18th Od. 430; ANDROMEDA: Poems, p. 182*b*; GEORGICS OF HESIOD, ii. p. 232*a*; CÆSAR AND POMPEY, I. ii. 99.

In fine, though in simple vocabulary Jonson sometimes chimes with Chapman in the use of words not found in the genuine Shakespeare, no one would suggest that the *style* or structure of this poem is in the least like Jonson. All the structural clues lead us to Chapman; and the evidence of vocabulary is corroborative.

§ 7. CHAPMAN'S VOCABULARY COLLATED

AND now for the main lists of more or less completely non-Shakespearean terms noted by Professor Mackail. A number in his first list, it will have been noted, are of comparatively little importance, being nonce-words or chance coinages, such as Chapman especially abounds in. There are, however, several noteworthy forms to be found in Chapman; and the chance coinages are all in his manner.

In the first list we have :

1. *Maund*, occurring, as above noted, in the sixth *Odyssey*, 105.

2. *Affectedly*.—Chapman has :

Simple, well-meaning, standing still affectedly on telling truth.

Commentarius on 2nd Iliad.

3. *Invis'd*.—Compare :

The child-god's graceful paradise

They jointly purpose to *invis*.

Contention of Phillis and Flora, st. 67.

4. *Unexperient*.—Compare :

Which wisdom sure he learn'd

Of his *experient* father.

All Fools, I. i. 208.

To the less notable words in the first list we find suggestive approximations in Chapman :

5. I have not noted *fluxive* ; but he has *inflexive*, and the following :

A *flux* of blood still issuing.

16th Iliad, 483.

The softness and inclination to *fluxure*.
Epist. Ded. to *Achilles' Shield*.

With *fluences* of sweetest water.
16th *Iliad*, 224.

Close to the palm that Inops' *fluent* cheers.
Hom. Hymn to Apollo, 28.

In which he lighted such a *fluent* flame.
Id.

6. As against *untuck'd* (applied to hair, l. 31) we have :

Her tresses in *tucks*, braided with silver.
Mask of the Middle Temple, ed. Shepherd, p. 343a.

Their robes were *tucked* up before.
Id. p. 342a.

7. I have not noted *enswath'd*; but we have *swathebands* twice in the HYMN TO APOLLO; and again thrice in the HYMN TO HERMES. And among his participles beginning with *em* and *en* we have: enrosed (compare *en-crimson'd*) embathed, enflowered, enlac'd, enam bush'd, encurtain'd, ensulphur'd, enstaging, enstyled.

8. As against *habitude* we have :

To drive men, *habited* in feast, from feasts.
2nd *Odyssey*, 375.

Habituate powers.
Bussy D'Ambois, V. i. 145.

O y'are a shrewd one, and so *habited*
In taking heed.
5th *Odyssey*, 239.

9. *Annexion* is a formation like many of Chapman's, as shown in our list of his nouns in *-ion*. And as beside this peculiar use of *annexion* we may note :

To *annex* my heart
In love to thee as well as victory.
Blind Beggar of Alexandria, near end.

It will *annex* to our belief such love . . .

Eugenia, Vigil. 3.

This *jewel* here *annex'd*.

Byron's Tragedy, II. i. 73.

—which last coincides notably with “annexions of fair *gems*” in the COMPLAINT.

10. *Threaden* does not occur in Chapman's signed work ; but he uses “thread” in a way that gives a similar descriptive effect :

A carpet, rich and of deviceful thread.

1st Odyssey, 206.

And so thick thrust together, thread by thread.

7th Odyssey, 143.

I'll not receive a thread, but naked go.

14th Odyssey, 230.

The web worn bare
Of my life's thread.

21st Odyssey, 371.

And through thy subject woven her graphic thread.

In Sejanum Ben Jonsoni.

Such forms as *sheav'd* and *lover'd* are likewise very much in his manner, as shown in our sample list of his participles : and the same may be said of the adjectives *plaintful* and *phraseless*.

11. The last in particular, both as to the “phrase” and the “-less”—so common a form of coinage with him—points to his diction :

Beyond the height of phrase

You raise expression.

3rd Odyssey, 304.

Amaz'd

He stood in mind to hear the dance so *phras'd* [described].

8th Odyssey, 376.

High and hearty invention expressed in most significant and unaffected *phrase*.

Epist. Ded. to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*.

In Poesy decking her with choicest *phrases*.

Epist. Ded. to Prince Henry.

Studiars of *phrase*.

Tears of Peace.

With gifts and junkets, and with printed *phrase*.

Byron's Conspiracy, II. ii. 6.

It may be added that in applying the adjective "phraseless" (= indescribable) to "hand," Chapman has regard to his own practice. He can rarely speak of a hand without calling it white, or fair, or ivory, or silver.

The adverbs *fastly* and *weepingly*, again, are notably Chapmanesque; as are the adjectives *brownly* and *termless*. Among his signed words are *interminate* and *disterminate*, similar manipulations to the last. *Extincture* and *enpatron*, again, are quite in his manner; and he has the verb to *patron* (Epist. Ded. to Somerset, l. 34); while as against *supplicant* we have his use of *suppliant* as an adjective (6th Odyssey, 297), and often as a noun.

12. *Ender* I take to have been actually used by Chapman in the *Iliad*, xvii. 68, where the folio reads:

His [Sarpedon's] death great Hector's power shall wreak,
Ending his *ends*. Then at once, out shall the fury break
Of fierce Achilles.

Ender is demanded alike by metre and by meaning. Shepherd substitutes *evils*, which is clearly wrong. *Ender* is an old and once common word, found in Chaucer.

13. *Blusterer* I have not noted in Chapman; but he has *blusters* and *bluster'd* and *blustering*, and the noun is of a kind he constantly made.

14. *Aloes* I do not remember to have seen in Chapman, but the metaphorical use of the word in the

COMPLAINT (273) is exactly matched in passages of his verse. Compare

And sweetens, in the suffering pangs it bears,
The aloes of all forces, shocks, and fears,

with

I loathe myself, and all my deeds,
Like rhubarb taste, or Colchean weeds.

Trans. of *Petrarch's Penitential Psalms*, vii. 6.

Like rhubarb, or the drugs of Thessaly,
Compared in taste with that sweet.

Tears of Peace, Shepherd, p. 123b.

The metaphor is in all three cases the same, a bitter taste being used to figure a bitter experience, and a spiritual sweet indicated in contrast.

15. *Sawn*.—The Concordance has *sawed* (2 Henry IV. V. i. 70), and that once only. Chapman has *sawn* in CÆSAR AND POMPEY, V. ii. 84. He has also the terms *gnawn*, *bestown*, etc.

Of the second list we find in Chapman :

1. *Forbod* :

But if forbod^r

To lay profane hands on thy holy priest.

Trans. of Musæus, 124.

2. As against *acture* we have :

Amplifying no more than is needful for the full *facture* of it.

Justification of a Strange Action of Nero :

Pref. to the Reader.

What . . .

Taught thee the sovereign *facture* of them all.

Hom. Hymn to Hermes.

Whom Fame gives the prize

For depth and *facture* of all forge-devize.

Hymn to Vulcan.

This form occurs in Marlowe, trans. of *Ovid's Elegies*, III. ix. 85. *Forboden* is old.

Compare his other nouns in *ure*, as sampled above.

3. As against *sistering* we have in SIR GILES GOOSECAP, after a pun on "cozen'd," the form "uncle'd"; and "sister-flames" in THE AMOROUS ZODIAC, st. 11.

4. I have not noted *impleach'd* in Chapman; but he several times uses *implied* (also the noun *implies*) in the same sense.

5. *Encrimson'd*, as above noted, is matched by *enrosed*. He also has *impurpled*.

6. *Paled* is, as Mr. Mackail suggests, probably only a variant spelling of "pallid." ¹ Neither word occurs elsewhere in Shakespeare; but "pallid" is found frequently in Chapman:

Pallid and lean is thy elected.

Contention of Phillis and Flora, st. 32.

She is not Moon-like, that, the Sun her spouse
Being furthest off, is clear and glorious,
And, being near, grows *pallid* and obscure.

A Good Woman.

The sight amaz'd them; *pallid* fear made boldest stomachs stoop.
Trans. of *Iliad*, viii. 65.

Like *pallid* lightnings thrown from Jove.

Id. x. 137.

Pallid silver.

Id. ib. 374.

Pallid fear.

Trans. of *Hymn to Venus*.

Pallid moon.

Trans. of Politianus, pref. to *Iliads*.

And though I have not noted in Chapman elsewhere the phrase "pallid pearls," the touch of "rubies red as blood" points to several of his:

Through whose white skin, softer than soundest sleep,
With damask eyes the *ruby blood* doth peep.

Hero and Leander, iii. 40.

¹ Spenser has both *palled* and *pallid*.

The virgin tapers that on th' altar stood
When she inflam'd them, burn'd as *red as blood*.

Id. iv. 129.

The *ruby*-coloured maid.

Trans. of Musæus, l. 203.

His (the ox's) life-blood pouring out at every wound,
In streams as clear as any *liquid ruby*.

Cæsar and Pompey, III. ii. 15.

The third list yields us our largest harvest of Chapman-parallels; and as this consists of words used by Shakespeare in a different sense, their occurrence in Chapman has special evidential force. We have noted that *fickle* is probably a misprint (though if any man could use the word in the sense of *fragile*, Chapman was the one to do it); that *occasion* is probably only a loose use of the word by him in its normal sense; and that *parcels* means only "portions," which is its usual force. *Phœnix*, again, seems to me to mean here only "new-born"; and "Phœnix" is a favourite allusion-word with Chapman. *E.g.*:

As if the phœnix hasting to her rest
Had gather'd all th' Arabian spicery
T' embalm her body in her tomb, her nest.

Ovid's Banquet, st. 32.

How am I burnt to dust
With a new sun, and made a *novel phœnix*.

An Humorous Day's Mirth, sc. 7, l. 208, ed. Parrott.

Behold the kingly flight of his [Homer's] high Muse,
And see how, like the phœnix, she *renews*
Her age and starry feathers in your sun.

Epist. Ded. to Prince Henry, with Twelve Books of *Iliad*.

Like the *young phœnix*
That from her spicy pile revives more glorious.

Revenge of Honour, V. 2.

Professor Parrott, with strong grounds, pronounces against Chapman's authorship of the last-cited play; but the passage may at least serve to explain the allusion in the

COMPLAINT. Other words in the list are specially identifiable as Chapman's:

1. *Storming*. In our poem, besides the line (7):

Storming her world with sorrow's wind and rain,

we have (101):

Yet, if men moved him, was he such a *storm*
As oft 'twixt May and April is to see.

This is a tic of Chapman's:

With this digression we will now return
To Ovid's prospect in his fancy's *storm*.

Ovid's Banquet of Sense, st. 57.

Do not, as others would, of custom *storm*.

Id. 88.

Golden *storms*

Fell from their *eyes*.

Hero and Leander, v. 184.

He entered at the eye; his [Love's] sacred *storm*
Rose from the hand.

Id. v. 228.

Now on thy life have death's cold vapours *storm'd*,
That *storm'dst* on men, the earth-fed, so much death.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

Storming upon him still their fiercest force.

Epist. Ded. to Earl of Somerset, with *Iliads*.

He whose bow thus *storm'd*.

Trans. of *Iliad*, i. 148.

O, at this,

Juno will *storm*.

Id. l. 501.

His princes, amorous of their chief, walked *storming* here and
there.

Id. ii.

Whole *storms* of lances.

Id. v.

O Father, *storm'st* thou not
To see us take these wrongs from men.

Id. v.

What course intend you? Why are you wrapped with your
fancy's *storm*.

Id. viii.

Our foes
May calm their *storms*.

Id. xiv.

And therefore pour'd on darts in *storms*.

Id. *ib.*

Storm-like he fell.

Bussy D'Ambois, II. i.

You know, besides, that our affections' *storm*,
Raised in our blood, no reason can reform.

Id. II. i.

What a vapour
The strongest mind is to a *storm* of crosses.

Byron's Tragedy, V. i.

He doubts, *storms*, threatens, rues, complains, implores.

Id. V. i.

One gentle word from thee would soon resolve
The *storm* of my rage to a shower of tears.

All Fools, II. i.

Methinks thy wit should feel how stale are these love *storms*.

May-Day, I. ii.

O that thy life could have dispers'd death's *storms*.

Epicidium, ed. Shepherd, p. 169*b*.

Every god will have his son a god
Or *storm* extremely.

Trans. of *Iliad*, xvi.

An empty gallant, full of form,
That thinks each look an act, each drop a *storm*.

Hero and Leander, vi.

There was a *storm* in Hero's heart.

Id. *ib.*

The scandals *storm'd*
Against the poor dame.

Epist. Ded. to Prince Henry, pref. to *Iliad*.

Storm not, nor beat yourself thus 'gainst the doors.

Bussy D'Ambois, V.

With *storms* of whistlings then his flock he drave.

9th *Odyssey*, 435.

And in THE SHADOW OF THE NIGHT (*Hymnus in Cynthiam*) we have the same use made of "tempest":

Tempest their wraths on them that wist it not.

2. *Charmed* is used in the COMPLAINT (l. 146), as Mr. Mackail notes, in the sense of exercising charm. It is a Chapman use. "Charms" occurs in his verse many times, always in the old sense of "amulets" or "spells"; and in the description of Teras in the fifth sestiad of HERO AND LEANDER (l. 75) it is told that

Never slight tale flew
From her *charm'd lips* without important sense.

There is really no fundamental difference between this and his normal use of the word (seen in the line 193): the idea is that the organ or object or person has been affected or endowed with special or "charming" power, as here:

Your spirit, *charm'd*
In birth with Wisdom's virtues.

Sonnet 20, to Viscount Cranborne.

As if they came perfumed and *charmed* with golden incitements.

Epist. Ded. to *Hero and Leander*.

In him, as in a crystal that is *charm'd*,
I shall discern by whom and what designs,
My power is threatened.

Byron's Tragedy, I. i.

And last, the *charm'd* plate he wore.

Trans. of *Iliad*, iv.

They are not *charm'd* against your points of steel . . .

Id. iv.

Religion *charmed*
That act of spoil.

Id., vi.

Who being shown
His *charmèd* shield, his half he turn'd to stone.

Andromeda Liberata.

Through whose *charmèd* mouths
We may see all the close scapes of the court.

Bussy D'Ambois, III. ii. 158.

3. *Radiance*. Concerning the lines (213-14) :

The deep-green emerald, in whose fresh regard
Weak sights their sickly radiance do amend,

Mr. Mackail notes that *radiance* is here used "in a highly technical sense = power of vision, in accordance with a particular theory as to the nature of the sense of sight." The theory, such as it is, will be found again and again in Chapman—in THE SHADOW OF NIGHT; in OVID'S BANQUET, *passim*; in HERO AND LEANDER (third sestiad and Tale of Teras); in EUGENIA (Vigil. 3), and elsewhere. And the use of "radiance" above noted conforms to his diction in such passages as :

Those that beforehand have a *radiant and light-bearing* intellect.
Epist. Ded. to *Ovid's Banquet*, end.

Effuse his *radiance* upon knowing men.
Justification of Perseus and Andromeda, l. 33.

But when he view'd her *radiant* eyes again
Blind was he stricken with her fervent beams.
An Humorous Day's Mirth, ed. Shepherd, p. 40b.

The visible and mild *radiance* of mine eyes.
Byron's Conspiracy, III. i.

Whose virtue Helen felt, and knew, by her so *radiant* eyes.
Trans. of *Iliad*, iii. 415.

Her *radiant* eyes.
Sir Giles Goosecap, I. iv. 7.

His *radiant* eye.
Id., V. ii. 271.

The idea that the eyes shed light, sometimes put quasi-literally, sometimes metaphorically, sometimes allegorically, is further illustrated in such passages as these :

For as the eye discerns not black from white,
 Colour from sound, till with a noble light
 The soul casts on it, it is made descry ;
 So still the soul's blank intellectual *eye*
 The world's soul rinseth in his *active rays*,
 And her raz'd table fills with forms.

Eugenia, Vigil. 3.

From his eyes, as if the day-star rose,
 A *radiance* terrifying men did all the state enclose.

19th *Iliad*, 18.

But who dares abjure
 His conscious knowledge, and belie the law,
 Past cure will that wound in his conscience draw,
 And for his *radiance* now his race shall be
 The deeper plunged in all obscurity.

Trans. of *Hesiod's Georgics*, Bk. 1.

In the 9th *Odyssey* (702) the blinded Cyclops shouts to Ulysses, concerning the destroyed eye, that his sire "Can soon re-pose it in the *visual fire*," which last phrase is not in Homer, but Chapman's own.

Finally, in the translation of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, Apollo asks the old man :

To me then declare
 O old man, long since born, if thy grave *ray*
 Hath any man *seen* making stealthful way
 With all those oxen,

which again gives us the theory of visual rays or "radiance."

4. *Impress* (l. 267), "in the sense of strike against or attack," is one of Chapman's common specialties of phrase. His Homeric heroes often "impress" their weapons, and an "impression" is for him an attack :

Haste, for the king of man commands, to see a wound *impress'd*
 In Menelaus, great in arms.

Trans. of *Iliad*, iv. 222.

So, after Diomed, instantly, the field was overcome
With thick *impressions* of the Greeks.

Iliad, iv. 454.

And first Hypsibios Lichenor wounded,
Standing th' *impression* of the first in fight.

Battle of Frogs and Mice.

The chill *impressions* of the north-east sky.

Trans. of *Fifth Satire of Juvenal*.

In whose guts the King of men *impress'd*
His ashen lance.

Iliad, vi. 63.

What Trojans then were to their deaths by Teucer's shafts *impress'd*?

Id. viii. 234.

In ten whole years they shall not heal the wounds I will *impress*.

Id. ib. 352.

Then did his [Telamon's] lance *impress*
Pandocus, and strong Pirasus, Lysander and Palertes.

Id. xi. 431.

His sword a mortal wound *impress'd*.

Id. ib. 100.

Nor yet his lance left dealing martial alms,
But Socus' brother by both sides, young Carops, did *impress*.

Id. ib. 380.

Antiochus Atymnius seized, his steel lance did *impress*
His first three guts.

Id. xvi. 301.

Impressing a recureless wound.

Id. ib. 446.

He sometimes uses the word with another force; but in this sense it is "Chapman, his mark."

5. *Suffering*, with the force of "painful," is also a sample of Chapman's diction. The word occurs thrice in the COMPLAINT :

Which may her *suffering ecstasy* assuage (69).

Have of my *suffering youth* some feeling pity (178).

And sweetens, in the *suffering pangs* it bears (272).

It is not so much a matter of making "suffering" mean "painful" as of simply placing the participle-adjective

alongside of a noun and getting that result, as in the analogous phrase "caged cloister." (Compare "my bleeding moan," 9th *Odyssey*, 27.) Chapman very frequently uses the words *suffer*, *suffering*, and *sufferance* (= suffering); and from time to time his mere syntax produces the effect in question :

Not that we may not bear a *suffering show*
In our afflictions.

Eugenia, Vigil. 3.

Most suffering-minded Tydeus' son.

5th Iliad, 276.

Giving him a *fate*
More suffering than the most unfortunate.

1st Odyssey, 84.

My most-suffering father.

3rd Odyssey, 119.

Through every fight, and every *suffering deed*.

4th Odyssey, 322.

Through all
My *suffering course*.

11th Odyssey, 130.

My mind spreads her impassive powers
Through all my suffering parts.

Gentleman Usher, IV. i.

It is tolerably clear that it is the same hand that produces all the verbal effects under notice.

6. *Distract* (adj. 231)—with which should be bracketed *distractedly* (28). The adverb occurs only once in Shakespeare :

She did speak in starts, *distractedly*,
(*Twelfth Night*, II. ii. 22)

—a somewhat different force from that before us. This occurs in Chapman :

Juno's enforced and wrathful parting from Jove, and doing his charge *distractedly*.

Comm. on *15th Iliad*, note 1, end.

Distract as an adjective or participle occurs several times in the translation of Homer :

Like one turn'd wild, look'd on himself in his distract retreat.
11th *Iliad*, 475.

And either knowing not his way, or then would let alone
His proposed journey, is distract.
15th *Iliad*, 81.

Who put me thus together, thus distract
In aged pieces.
16th *Odyssey*, 272 ;

also in the plays :

O wretched piety, that art so distract
In thine own constancy.
Bussy D'Ambois, V. iv. 167 ;

and elsewhere :

She stood distract with miserable woes.
Trans. of Musæus, line 12 from end.

My powers with admiration stand distract.
Hom. Hymn to Hermes.

The meaning — physical or mental — is always simply “divided” ; and Chapman repeatedly used “distracted” and “distract” with the same force, as does Shakespeare. For the Elizabethans, that was the primary meaning : “mad” is secondary.

Coming to the fourth list, we again find clues to Chapman.

1. *Amplify* is a fairly common Elizabethan word ; but whereas we find it only thrice in the Shakespeare plays, it occurs many times in Chapman :

More than to amplify
Adorn, and sweeten these, deservedly.
Tears of Peace, ed. Shepherd, p. 124a.

He never ceased to amplify his store,
Eugenia, Vigil. 1.

To amplify yet more the divine graces of this goddess.
Arg. of Mask of the Inner Temple.

He took a bunch of laurel, amplified
 Past others.
Hom. Hymn to Hermes, Shepherd, p. 291a.

I amplifying no more than is needful for the full facture of it.
Justification of Strange Action of Nero, pref. to Reader.

Fair, and with all allurements amplified.
Hymn to Venus, Shepherd, p. 303a.

Which (as yourself requires and reason wills)
 I leave to be enforced and amplified.
Monsieur D'Olive, II. i.

Is amplified with just command of many.
1st Iliad, 279.

And see Troy amplified
 In conquest.
Id. 489.

Nor, would he amplify all this like sand, or dust, or brass,
 Should he reclaim me.
9th Iliad, 375.

Content be his great heart
 With his great portion, and not think to amplify his part.
15th Iliad, 182.

Short life well graced might amplify.
1598 version of 1st Iliad, Shepherd, p. 541b.

As infinite as leaves
 Or flowers the spring doth amplify.
1598 version of 2nd Iliad, Shepherd, p. 553b..

Which . . . Ulysses amplified to this ascent.
8th Odyssey, 651.

A roof, in size more amplified.
9th Odyssey, 730.

Still amplified his plaint.
11th Odyssey, 100.

2. *Brokers* is also a word of no great evidential importance, the point being that the plural is found only in *HAMLET* in the genuine Shakespeare. The singular occurs

several times in Chapman as in Shakespeare, once with the metaphorical force :

They know the way to the petty broker's, there let them shift
and hang.

Monsieur D'Olive, IV. i.

Now like a decayed merchant turned broker.

Widow's Tears, I. iv.

And therefore that true knowledge that should be
Their studies' end, and is in nature free,
Will not be made their broker.

Tears of Peace, Shepherd, p. 117b.

"Petty broker" occurs half a dozen times in one scene of MONSIEUR D'OLIVE (III. ii.).

3. *Concave* occurs in the second Iliad, 507. Chapman has also *concaves* (19th Od. 600; MASK OF MIDDLE TEMPLE: Poems, p. 343b) and *concavity* (BLIND BEGGAR, Sc. 2).

The forms *reword* and *cautel* I have not noted in his signed work; but he has :

Worded : GENTLEMAN USHER, IV. i. 70; TEARS OF PEACE, end.

Cautelous : HYMN TO HERMES : Poems, p. 296b.

Concerning *pieced*, I would say that it is simply a metaphorical use, with the force of "eked out." In this sense it is a common word, and it is so used by Chapman (ODYSSEY, xix. 694).

4. *Commixed*, which occurs only in the COMPLAINT (l. 28) and in the late CYMBELINE in the Shakespeare concordance, is a common word of Chapman's :

And then like flame and powder they commixt.

Bussy D'Ambois, II. i.

And show, commix'd with them, the joys, the glories
Of his state then.

Byron's Conspiracy, V. i.

And in one cup of friendship to commix
Our lives and fortunes.

Byron's Tragedy, III. i.

That she the gods commixed in amorous play.

Hom. Hymn to Venus.

Yet with his admirable stream doth not his waves commix.

Trans. of Iliad, ii.

Aeneas of commixèd seed (a Goddess with a man).

Id. ib.

With flight and clamour still commix'd.

Id. iv.

A most inevitable flight; both slaughters so commix'd.

Id. xiv.

By which time Hector was revived, and, taking horse again
Was far commix'd within his strength.

Id. xi.

There youths and maids with heautics past compare
Danc'd with commixèd palms.

Trans. of Achilles' Shield.

But harmful venoms she commixt with these.

10th Odyssey, 320.

5. *Orbed* I have not met with in Chapman: but he has:

orbicular: HERO AND LEANDER, iii.

orbiquity: Epist. Ded. with ACHILLES' SHIELD.

orby: ODYSSEY, x. 588; ILIAD, iii. 357; xiii. 151;

and is thus much given to manipulations of *orb*, as also to the term "circular" in a metaphorical and mystical sense. In the seventeenth Iliad, rendering the simile of the carriers pulling on a hide, he has (340):

in an orb they pull,

here following the *in orbem* of Spondanus, where Homer (392) has *κυκλόσ'*, in a wheel. In the ILIAD and the ODYSSEY he uses *sphered* with that force. Again, he frequently has *ensphere*, in various flections.

6. *Dialogue*.—This rather notable verb seems to point

distinctly to Chapman. In AN HUMOROUS DAY'S MIRTH, Sc. vi. 25, Labervele says :

I'll have a dialogue between myself
And manly reason to that special end ;¹

which gives the idea of the passage in the COMPLAINT :

Consents bewitch'd, ere he desire, have granted ;
And dialogued for him what he would say,
Ask'd their own wills, and made their wills obey.

I leave for separate discussion the important point that in a non-Shakespearean part of TIMON OF ATHENS (II. ii. 52) we have the phrase : "Dost dialogue with thy shadow?"

7. *Real* is a word that calls for some attention. It occurs nowhere else in the poems, and only twice in the plays. As to one of these uses we shall have occasion to inquire later. The word is notable as having come into general literary use only in the last decades of the sixteenth century, though "the real presence" was an old formula in theology. The first literary use noted in the Oxford Dictionary is the allusion to this among other "new-minted epithets" ascribed to Jonson by Marston in the introduction to his SCOURGE OF VILLANIE, 1599. But the word has been used twice in one line by Marston himself in the third of his Satires (l. 15 from end), published in the same volume with PIGMALION in 1598 ; and it was in literary use much earlier still. It occurs at least a dozen times in Reginald Scot's DISCOVERIE OF WITCHCRAFT, 1584 ; and is found in Carew's translation of Huarte's EXAMEN DE INGENIOS, 1574 (ed. 1596, p. 161). I have not noted it in Chapman's earlier work, but it was likely to be adopted by him ; and it occurs in the TEARS OF PEACE (Poems, p. 122a) ; and in the verses "To the Reader" prefixed to the Iliad.

A few of the less notable words in the various lists, which

¹ The idea would be suggested by the Iliad—Chapman's version, xi. 359 *seq.*

I have not chanced to note in Chapman—though another reader may—I have left undiscussed. They are all perfectly likely to have been used, and some of them to have been coined, by him. But the number of actual clues to him, the many coincidences of thought and of phrase, the identities of theme and machinery, the general prevalence of his eccentric diction in the COMPLAINT, the constant suggestion of his involved and forced construction, with the occasional emergence of vigorous lines and once of real elevation—all this constitutes, I think, a culminating proof that the poem is Chapman's. It is, in brief, as like him as it is unlike Shakespeare.

It remains to realize the biographical significance of the discovery.

PART II
THE POETS' PERSONAL RELATIONS

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§ 1. EARLY RIVALRY

THAT there was a literary connection or relation, partly somewhat hostile, between Chapman and Shakespeare, is fairly evident even apart from the sonnets which allude to the rival poet. We can follow Chapman's non-dramatic literary career from about 1593, in or before which year he made the friendly acquaintance of Marlowe, who urged the publication of his *SHADOW OF NIGHT*, thus known to date before the year of its issue. That he had been settled in London may be gathered from his account of himself as "hasting out of town" when finishing the dedication to his poem in 1594. And we may reasonably agree with Mr. Acheson that the dedications of that poem and of *OVID'S BANQUET OF SENSE* in the following year, both addressed to his friend Matthew Roydon, tell of failure to find a distinguished patron, which he would evidently have liked to do.

The *SHADOW* may be described as an anti-popular poem, written in rather splenetic contempt of all common pleasures, literary and other. Popularity it certainly never won; and the phrase, "I know that empty and dark spirits will complain of palpable night," in the dedication of the *BANQUET*, tells of criticism passed on the first poem. Meantime, Shakespeare's *VENUS AND ADONIS* had been followed by the *LUCRECE*, and both had a popular success. Chapman accordingly had so far learned his lesson that, like Drayton and others, he set himself to produce a rival poem to the *VENUS*, probably setting about it in 1594. In each case he would seem to have written his poem first for

private circulation, before trying it on the general public. Already, presumably, he had written his continuation of *HERO AND LEANDER*; and the withholding of that piece from publication—the reasons for which can be guessed at—would impel him to yet another adventure in amorous poetry, this time following his own bent and not Marlowe's. What he never learned was the importance of lucidity and limpidity. Conscious above all things of his scholarly knowledge and his "virtuosity" in language, he determined to eclipse the limpid appeal of the young Shakespeare's verse by something more accomplished, more skilful, more indicative of knowledge and philosophy; something to represent "the divine discipline of Poesy," as he put it in his dedication to the *BANQUET*. The whole document tells that he is still writing in opposition to other men's methods:

"The profane multitude I hate, and only consecrate my strange poems to those searching spirits whom learning hath made noble, and nobility sacred; endeavouring that material oration, which you call *Schema*; varying, in some rare fiction, from popular custom, even for the pure sakes of ornament and utility.

"But that Poesy should be pervial [= obviously intelligible] as oratory, and plainness her special ornament, were the plain way to barbarism,' and to make the ass run proud of his ears, to take away strength from lions, and give camels horns.

"That *Energia*, or clearness of representation, required in absolute poems, is not the perspicuous delivery of a low invention; but high and hearty invention expressed in most significant and unaffected phrase. It serves not a skilful painter's turn to draw the figure of a face only to make known what it represents; but he must limn, give lustre, shadow, and heightening; which though ignorants will esteem spiced, and too curious, yet such as have the judicial perspective will see that it hath motion, spirit, and life.

"There is no confection made to last, but it is admitted more cost and skill than presently-to-be-used simples; and in my opinion, that which, being with a little endeavour searched, adds a kind of majesty to Poesy, is better than that which every cobbler may sing to his patch.

' The syntax of Chapman's very prose conforms to his vow against being "pervial." Here we have one of his innumerable ellipses.

"Obscurity in affection [= affectation] of words and indigested conceits is pedantical and childish; but where it shroudeth itself in the heart of his subject, uttered with fitness of figure and expressive epithets, with that darkness will I still labour to be shadowed. Rich minerals are digged out of the bowels of the earth, not found in the superficies and dust of it: charms made of unlearned characters are not consecrate by the Muses, which are divine artists, but by Euiippe's daughters, that challenged them with mere nature, whose breasts I doubt not had been well worthy commendation, if their comparison had not turned them into pyes."

The pedant reveals himself in the act of disclaiming pedantry. Chapman was evidently convinced that he escaped "obscurity in affection of words and indigested conceits" (which had inevitably been imputed to him), by some process of "shrouding himself in the heart of his subject." Later, in *THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS* (I. ii. 38-43), he declares that

As worthisst poets
Shun common and plebeian forms of speech;
Every illiberal and affected phrase
To clothe their matter; and together tie
Matter and form, with art and decency;
So worthiest woman should shun vulgar guises.

It is his fatality that he does not avoid vulgarities even in shunning plainness of speech: no man used grosser images or coarser phrases than some of his; and still he is pedantic, affected, "indigested," and indigestible, more often than he is clear and powerful.

That he was writing at Shakespeare among others can hardly be doubted. It is irksome to think of him as often pursuing this ungenerous vein; and Mr. Acheson, I think, errs in seeing attacks on Shakespeare in some of Chapman's later lines which specifically arraign scholars as such—for instance, in *THE TEARS OF PEACE*; but the dedication to the *BANQUET OF SENSE* tells plainly of hostility to successful exploiters of the popular taste for the sensuous. The poem as a whole is just as plainly an attempt to do that kind of

thing with "cost and skill" of phrase and thought; and there really is an attainment of lucidity, in contrast with the felt darkness of the *SHADOW OF NIGHT*. But, as is usual with Chapman, there is a fatal lack of pagan charm. Shakespeare's "first heir" is something of a scapegrace; but Shakespeare, with his unerring instinct for the tried and telling fable, the enduring tale, easily—too easily—does all he wants to do. Chapman strenuously constructs a much more *virtuoso*-like narrative, expressly dividing the sensuous into its five components, and courageously going on till he has to stop; but his *tour de force*, as sensuous in its way as anything of the period, never caught the general imagination. Mr. Acheson perhaps unduly disparages the *BANQUET* when he reduces it to a story of a naked woman and a Peeping Tom: at least, the same method of analysis will yield no more panegyric formula for the *VENUS*. The *BANQUET* is really the more interesting performance of the two for any one concerned to look for artistic skill where the "general reader" scents an improper narrative. But in Chapman's case there arises a graver indictment. After all his protestations of concern for the supersensual, one finds a certain perversity—Mr. Acheson calls it humbug—in this academic bid for the suffrages of educated worldlings.

In the same volume with the *BANQUET* he prints (1) *A CORONET FOR HIS MISTRESS PHILOSOPHY*, disparaging the

Muses that sing Love's sensual empery;

and (2) *THE AMOROUS ZODIAC*, closely translated, without avowal, from Gilles Durant's *LE ZODIAC AMOUREUX*,¹ an entirely sensual poem in the stanza form of the *VENUS*. The *CORONET*, which consists of ten sonnets, is ingeniously surmised by Mr. Acheson to be a poem written to attract

¹ See Sir Sidney Lee's *French Renaissance in England*, 1910, pp. 468 *seq.*

Southampton, as against the VENUS. The ninth sonnet ends with the lines :

And never shall my friendless verse envy
Muses that Fame's loose feathers beautify;

which, with the opening line, suggest a direct attack on that poem. But then comes the enigmatic tenth sonnet, which seems to make sudden retraction of what went before, and ends :

And let my love adorn with modest eyes
Muses that sing Love's sensual emperies.

The appended words, *lucidius olim*, suggest that the concluding stanza had been imposed on the poem against its plan; and we can only infer that the poet, offering at once his sensual and his anti-sensual wares, was ready to cater for either kind of demand. His first play, THE BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA, is of a notable prurience, as is his later comedy, THE WIDOW'S TEARS. The most charitable view of the case is that, like nearly all poets, scholars and dramatists of his age, Chapman was hard put to it to make a living, and that his early poems and his plays were equally efforts to surmount what he makes Ulysses quaintly call "a cruel habit of calamity."

Meanwhile Shakespeare, having written with his amazing facility, after the model of Lodge's GLAUCUS AND SCILLA, a long poem in that vein, had produced with still more facility, after the model of Daniel's ROSAMOND, a longer poem on the contrary and more respectable but no less popular theme of the chaste Lucrece. We can see him, still untouched by care, meeting with a mock humility the protests of the good against his first poem by inviting a perusal of the second, with its wholly virtuous theme and colouring. It had been written without effort: reading it, one feels that he could have gone on spinning such stanzas "eight years together, dinners and suppers and

sleeping-hours excepted," as Touchstone hath it. And again he triumphantly attains his purpose; for this was the poet who above all others combined a perfect command of the common taste with the supererogatory genius that, where occasion is, transfigures fable into lasting literature. In the *LUCRECE* the occasion is not compulsive, and the genius, in point of fact, was still in its nonage. The young Shakespeare, trained on the stage, had no blinding esteem for his public; and he accordingly gave them just what he knew they could appreciate, a flawless flow of easily tuneful verse, as clear as Avon in summer. And this, again, we can see, was the provokingly popular model that Chapman set himself to eclipse by writing, in the same stanza, a tale of female suffering of another kind, which was to have all those qualities of *energia*, ornament, invention, "lustre, shadow, and heightening," "with fitness of figure and expressive epithets," which the "absolute poem" required, and which were not present in the *LUCRECE*. Far from seeking to imitate the limpid style of Shakespeare's poems and early plays, he expressly aims at transcending that by ornate technique. He would dig his "rich minerals out of the bowels of the earth," scorning to take a popular fable, familiar as household words, but once more "varying from popular custom" in a "rare fiction" of his own.

And this time the rival poem simply came to nothing, because nothing was to be made of it. It is still-born. Shakespeare, doubtless, standing on one foot, could have made a poem on such a theme as long as *LUCRECE*, to the "twentieth echo of an echo," if he had cared. But Shakespeare knew better. Given a well-established fable, with a lasting interest for average mankind and womankind, tuneful embellishment could be carried a long way without setting up fatigue in the Elizabethan public. But the abstract deserted maiden, describing and denouncing the abstract betrayer, could hardly have availed even Shakespeare two editions, and could avail Chapman nothing.

To make such an enterprise succeed by mere virtuosity of phrase and vocabulary, superfoetation of "conceit" and stylistic conundrum, was a desperate enterprise; and even Chapman was bound to give it up. The poem simply stops without finishing. And, by one of the queerest ironies of fate in all literary history, the fragment-that-failed came to light after perhaps fourteen years as a production of the very poet who was to have been eclipsed by it. He at least had to that extent a touch of compensating amusement in the piratical publication of his Sonnets. That Chapman got any amusement out of the episode is less likely. For all we know, he may have made some protest. But Chapman, who had published as his own work his nearly literal translation of Durant's ZODIAC AMOUREUX, was hardly in a position to complain even if a successful poem of his were ascribed to another; and in this case there was no success to claim. He had cause to be grateful if Shakespeare tranquilly let the attribution pass, as he apparently did many of the tamperings with his name—though as to this too we are in the dark.

The manner of the preservation of the unfinished poem is of course also matter for guesswork; but we are fully entitled to guess with Professor Mackail that it had found its way into the hands of "the patron," who was probably invited to consider the acceptance of a dedication. If he liked the verse of Shakespeare, he could not like this—even if he saw no allusion to himself in the poem; and he presumably condemned it, plainly or otherwise, thus in one sense putting the poet out of his misery, whether or not he did so financially.

So far, then, we have evidence of nothing but a much more splenetic hostility to Shakespeare on the part of Chapman than is revealed on Shakespeare's part towards the rival poet in the Sonnets. The collapse of the COMPLAINT would not mend matters on Chapman's side; and

in the strenuous poem to "M. Harriots,"¹ appended to his version of the SHIELD OF ACHILLES in 1598, he seems to have another fling at the successful popular poet :

And though to rhyme and *give a verse smooth feet*,
Uttering to vulgar palates passions sweet,
Chance often in such weak capricious spirits
As in nought else have tolerable merits,
Yet where high Poesy's native habit shines,
From whose reflections flow eternal lines,
Philosophy retired to darkest caves
She can discover.

Of course we cannot be sure that the reference is to Shakespeare: it might apply to a number of poets, and one would prefer to think it had some other mark.

Assuming it to be meant for him, we can the more readily forgive the unsuccessful poet these signs of soreness if we accept the view of Mr. Acheson and others, so ably elaborated in Mr. Acheson's book, that Shakespeare had already had a humorous thrust or two at Chapman in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST. There are more profitable occupations than the tracking down of personal allusions in the Elizabethan drama, a procedure which frequently amounts to a wildgoose chase; but in this matter of Shakespeare and Chapman we have already seen somewhat solid reasons for inferring a personal relation; and our literary inquiry will shortly lead us to further discoveries which make it imperative that we should have under view all the relevant facts. To LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST, then, we must turn before investigating graver matters.

¹ That is, Master Thomas Harriott or Harriotts, the mathematician, secretary to Raleigh; not George Heriot, as Professor Parrott says, by a rare oversight, in one of his notes to *Sir Giles Goosecap*. The general excellence of Professor Parrott's editing earns the gratitude of all students.

§ 2. "LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST"

BEFORE putting the perturbing question, "Who was Holofernes?" it may be well to set in the front of our inquiry a quite solid datum, first advanced by Mr. Acheson. Every reader of Chapman's SHADOW OF NIGHT remembers its best couplet:

No pen can anything eternal write
That is not steeped in humour of the night.

But none of the commentators seems to have noted that it has a clear relation to two lines in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST (IV. iii. 346-7):

Never durst poet touch a pen to write
Until his ink were tempered with Love's sighs.

That one poet was thinking of the other's lines seems practically certain. But it is not so certain *prima facie*, though Mr. Acheson has no misgivings, that it was Chapman who wrote first. The difficulty is not merely that that assumption involves a later date for the LABOUR than many critics would assign it. There are many grounds for refusing to assent to the position that that must be Shakespeare's first play because of its superabundance of rhyme. That very fact, taken with the non-popular character of the whole production, makes it unlikely that the poet's company would give him his first innings in such a piece, unfitted as it is to interest an ordinary audience. The poetry, too, is not that of a beginner: there is assurance as well as facility in the whole

management; and the most probable theory of its inception is that it was originally commissioned by Southampton, at whose house it was played when it was revived for the Court in 1604.

But the assumption that Shakespeare's lines are a retort to Chapman will practically commit us to Mr. Acheson's general thesis that the LABOUR as a whole is a fanciful literary defiance to the doctrines of the SHADOW OF NIGHT; that the coterie who are to

War against your own affections,
And the huge army of the world's desires,

are imagined as following up, with a difference, the ideal of withdrawal from the world that is set out in the poem. And this bold interpretation is not hastily to be accepted. There remain (1) the counter-hypothesis, that Shakespeare's play was the first written, and that Chapman's couplet is a retort upon him; and (2) the alternative hypothesis that the two lines cited from Shakespeare belong to the revision of 1597, and not to the original play. For the last view there are strong suffrages; many critics, from Spedding to Craig, having held that the whole of Biron's long speech belongs to the revision. I would submit, in opposition, (1) that the fluid style is early rather than late; (2) that the duplication of lines 302-4 in lines 351-3 tells of a mere re-casting, one of the sets having been in the first version; and (3) that the occurrence of only two double-endings (both made by the word "woman") in the whole speech of sixty-seven lines, perfectly compatible with an earlier date, is at least much less likely in a composition of 1597. On the whole matter there can be no certainty; but if we assign our two lines to 1597 they *must* be reckoned a retort by Shakespeare on Chapman; ¹ while if we assign them to the original play the point is still indeterminate.

¹ The speech in praise of love in Chapman's ALL FOOLS (I. i. 92-122) may again be counted an attempt to rival the speech in the LABOUR.

Seeking to establish his thesis, Mr. Acheson argues¹ that Shakespeare's lines :

These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights,
That give a name to every fixed star,
Have no more profit of their shining nights
Than those that walk and wot not what they are ;

are directed against Chapman's way of multiplying names for the moon. But Chapman makes no approach to naming “every fixed star,” and this straining of the data tends to weaken the whole case. Equally overstrained is the thesis² that Chapman's AMOROUS ZODIAC is “unquestionably the poem indicated by Shakespeare in the 21st Sonnet,” seeing that Shakespeare there says his love is as fair

As any mother's child, though not so bright
As those gold candles fixed in heaven's air.

Many poets and sonneteers had likened their mistresses to stars before Chapman translated his ZODIAC. The surmise *may* be right ; but it cannot be pronounced “unquestionably” so. And when Mr. Acheson takes the concluding line :

I will not praise that purpose not to sell,

as meaning “clearly” that Shakespeare imputes mercenary motives to Chapman and declares that his own sonnets are not meant for publication, we are again away from solid ground. The phrase about not praising because not meaning to sell is proverbial ; and could hardly mean that a sonneteer or poet extolling his mistress praised her because he meant to sell or publish his verses. The idea has reference to trade : “you praise the wares you want to sell.” If Shakespeare were girding at Chapman for writing poems to sell, the gibe would have ill become him : the VENUS

¹ Work cited, p. 87.

Id. pp. 65-7.

and the *LUCRECE* were written for the market, to say nothing of the plays.

We are always met by this kind of danger when we are tempted to press hard a literary hypothesis. But if we restrict the thesis to those two main items of (1) the contact between Chapman's couplet and Shakespeare's countering lines; and (2) the general notion that the *LABOUR* is an extravaganza countering the precepts of the *SHADOW OF NIGHT*, we have a reasonable theory enough. It implies that Shakespeare's patron was interested in the play—perhaps suggested it, perhaps even gave some of the topical points. On the whole, it was not a disrespectful treatment of Chapman; it rather made much of his poem.

And though the whole thesis is somewhat speculative, the circumstances, upon a balance, are clearly in favour of the view that Chapman's poem came first, and that Shakespeare answered him. To write the *SHADOW OF NIGHT* by way of a fulmination against the gospel of love in the comedy would not have been a thinkable course even for Chapman. It certainly would not be a way to win Southampton's favour, for one thing; and the labouring of the precept of renunciation of normal life would have been otiose after a play which set forth an attempt at such renunciation and its collapse. On the other hand, the play is quite intelligible as a fanciful and humorous reply to the doctrine of the poem.

There remains the question of *Holofernes*, a standing theme of debate among the commentators. Warburton's theory that the pedant stood for John Florio, though it commended itself to the sagacious Farmer, is now generally abandoned.¹ But Chapman really fits *Holofernes* very well.

¹ The Comtesse Chambrun, who adopts it in her interesting pamphlet, *Shakespeare et Florio*, makes the striking point that *Holofernes* is nearly an exact anagram of John Florio. This would go a long way if other data fitted.

As has been more than once pointed out, the accost of Armado to Holofernes (V. i. 86), and the reply:

Do you not educate youth at the charge-house on the top of the mountain?

Hol. Or *mons*, the hill,

suggest that Chapman, who avowedly came from Hitchin Hill, had been there a schoolmaster.¹ It is the only hypothesis we have as to his earlier occupation. And alike the pedantries and the vocabulary are curiously suggestive of his style. Doubtless the Rombus of Sidney's *LADY OF THE MAY*, or some other presentment of the stage pedant,² gave the model; but Holofernes points specifically to Chapman. Between Professor Mackail's suggestion³ that his phrase (V. i. 19) about Armado drawing out "the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument" is an apt criticism of the style of the *COMPLAINT*, and Mr. Acheson's contention⁴ that Holofernes's criticism of Biron's sonnet (IV. ii.) is a criticism *by Shakespeare* of the *BANQUET OF SENSE*, we are warned of the snares in our path. But if we adhere, as Mr. Acheson should have done, to his surmise that Holofernes *represents* Chapman,⁵ we find in the pedant's verdict singularly close parodies of the pronouncements before cited from the dedication of the *BANQUET*. The passage:

Here are only numbers ratified; but for the elegance, facility, and golden cadence of poesy, *caret*. Ovidius Naso was the man; and why indeed *Naso*, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention? *Imitari* is nothing, so doth the hound his master, the ape is keeper, the tired horse his rider,

¹ Later in the play, Nathaniel address Holofernes as the schoolmaster of his parish.

² It is worth noting that Chapman's schoolmaster in *THE GENTLEMAN USHER* (II. i. 198-200) speaks quite simply.

³ Essay cited, p. 67.

⁴ Work cited, p. 109.

⁵ Another might perhaps argue that Chapman *collaborated* in the play but this view is not open to Mr. Acheson.

is exactly in that vein—a disparagement of poetry that is merely limpid and popular; and the allusion to *Naso* is a caricature vindication, in its author's mouth, of the BANQUET, which makes much of the sense of smell. The further undertaking, in the same dialogue, to "prove these verses to be very unlearned, neither savouring of poetry, wit, nor invention," is an equally exact presentation of Chapman's fashion of breaking the butterfly on the wheel of his invective. It is not Shakespeare censuring Chapman's poetry: it is Shakespeare genially caricaturing Chapman, the pedantic censor of Shakespeare's and other "pervial" poetry. The chances are that Shakespeare is caricaturing the conversational manner of Chapman, which we can well imagine to have been of that cast; but the burlesque of the dedication of the BANQUET seems documentary.

Another apparent clue to Chapman which suggests making fun of his talk is the passage (V. i. 21) on

Such rackers of orthography, as to speak *dout*, fine, when he should say *doubt*; *det*, when he should pronounce *debt*—d, e, b, t, not d, e, t; he clepeth a calf, *cauf*; balf, *hauf*; neighbour vocatur *nebour*: *neigh* abbreviated *ne*. This is abhominable,—which he would call abhominable. . . .

The reference here does not appear to be to the archaistic rhymes of the SHADOW OF NIGHT, but to another "tic." In Chapman's translations of Homer, and elsewhere, we have such rhymes as *would* and *mould*, *hold* and *should*, *behold* and *should*, *gold* and *would*, which tell of a cherished opinion that the elided *l* in *would* and other words, and yet other unsounded consonants, should be sounded.¹ We can well imagine this doctrine being laid down in schoolmasterly fashion by Chapman in his earlier days in town. The talk about elided *l*'s and *b*'s in the play thus goes far to identify him. Still, the playwright seems to have had in his eye the actual dedication of the BANQUET OF SENSE.

¹ The rhyme *fold*—*would* occurs also in AN HUMOROUS DAY'S MIRTH, 1st scene; and we have even *aloft* and *thought* in CÆSAR AND POMPEY, III. i.

It may be objected to such an inference that it brings the date of the *LABOUR* to 1595, which will be widely demurred to. After a special investigation of the Shakespearean chronology I confess to finding 1595 a not improbable date; and in any case I would not date the play before 1594. But we must always remember that Elizabethan plays in general, and surely Shakespeare's like the rest, were frequently retouched; and there is nothing arbitrary in such a compromise as dating the *LABOUR* 1594, with the motive of the *SHADOW OF NIGHT*, and supposing it to have been retouched in 1595 as well as in 1597. And this reasonable supposition, be it observed, admits of the possible adoption of the theory of the late Major Martin Hume, that Don Adriano Armado is a skit upon Don Antonio Perez, who came to England in 1594; though that is a thesis I do not undertake to support.

Neither will I profess to see in *Holofernes's* jingle about the pretty pleasing pricket a caricature of anything ever published by Chapman. But it is the fact that Chapman is an inveterate punster and alliterationist, putting even into his translation of the *Iliad* a multitude of idle plays upon words. For instances:

And yet that little thou esteemst too great a continent,
In thy incontinent avarice.

1st Iliad, 170.

And cast
The offal of all to the deeps.

Id. 310.

And as in rude heaps clos'd
Though huge goatherds are at their food the goatherds easily yet
Sort into sundry herds.

2nd Iliad, 405.

He threw, and forth it shin'd, nor fell but where it fell'd.

4th Iliad, 540.

. . . That with their fiery industries have so divinely wrought
In raising it, in razing it thy power will prove it nought.

7th Iliad, 387.

But in his form was quite deform'd.
10th *Iliad*, 273.

Transfixt his armless arm.
11th *Iliad*, 218.

The sense, otherwise, is senseless.
Note on 5th *Iliad*, 175.

And show'd her son the sun.
16th *Iliad*, 177.

And now the dogs and fowls in foulest use
Shall tear thee up.
22nd *Iliad*, 289.

But straight more clear appear'd the strait Antilochus foresaw.
23rd *Iliad*, 379.

Vouchsafe me safe.
24th *Iliad*, 280.

And taking in his armèd arms his son.
Argument to 6th *Iliad*.

Beeves that were wholly black gave holy flame.
3rd *Odyssey*, 11.

This word guilt including double sense,
The double guilt of his incontinence.
Hero and Leander, iii. 25-6.

Forth did his beauty for his beauty look.
Id. vi.

The more kind Neptune rag'd, the more he razed
His love's life's fort.
Id. ib.

Dames maritorious ne'er were meritorious.
Bussy D'Ambois, II. ii. 33.

Ships of war whose lasts of powder
Are laid, men think, to make them last.
Id. V. ii. 16-17.

Such punning—of which I could give twenty more examples
—far outgoes Shakespeare's. He puns youthfully in comedy,

where punning is in character: Chapman puns determinedly in serious and in comic work alike; and in the way of solemn and tedious trifling it would be difficult to outweigh his “Justification of a Strange Action of Nero: The Funeral Oration made at the Burial of one of Poppæa's Hairs.” Thrice, in serious work, he uses the phrase “tender tinder.” A man so given was likely enough, especially in the earlier days of his career, to commit unpublished exercises in punning verse; and the self-praise which in the play scene follows the reading of the jingle—

This is a gift I have, simple, simple; a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion. But the gift is good in those in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for it—

is again close, in caricature, to the dedication of the BANQUET. It is a curious detail that in Holofernes's further speech in reply to Nathaniel's praise of him as schoolmaster there occur two words, “ingenious” and “capable,” of which Chapman was rather fond; and the previous tirades against Ignorance are not so much burlesque as iterations of his common burden. The passage, of course, raises the question whether after all Holofernes is a caricature of Chapman, and not a contribution to the play by Chapman. I do not pretend to bar such a hypothesis; but I prefer the other.

Thus far, it will be observed, we have burlesque without spite: Holofernes is a testy pedant with a vigorous and fluent diction, who plays the schoolmaster in talk. The whole treatment suggests some personal acquaintance. In the last Act, of which the excessive length has often been remarked upon, Holofernes and Armado are personally humiliated in their masque of the Worthies, in a crudely Elizabethan manner. I do not like to think that this scene was of Shakespeare's planning. It is relatively witless as

well as heartless; and *if* Holofernes had been intended to represent Chapman, it lowers a genial literary caricature to the plane of horse-play. That would be in Chapman's own vein, supposing him to have been the caricaturist and not the caricatured. Certainly it is not like Shakespeare; but we have no ground for saying that it would be unlike Southampton, the patron, whom we are moved to surmise as the "begetter" of the play. If the theory that Chapman was the rival poet be accepted, along with the theory that Southampton did not at all decisively respond to Chapman's overtures, it is readily intelligible that, liking as he did the verse of Shakespeare, he would not care much for that of the rival. And it would be quite in the way of a loose Elizabethan nobleman, of Bohemian tastes, to plan the farce-scene of the masque of the Worthies, in which two caricatured contemporaries are baited.

Mr. Acheson does not shrink from the thesis that it was Shakespeare who persuaded his patron not to patronize Chapman; but most Shakespeareans, I think, will find the assumption incredible. It is one thing to conceive Shakespeare, girded-at by Chapman for ignorance and artistic simplicity, making such modest rejoinders as we find in the Sonnets, and sketching the caricature of Chapman as Holofernes: it is another thing to conceive of him deliberately doing Chapman an ill turn. That would not be in Shakespeare's way. He had the immense advantage over Chapman of being without spleen and without vanity, while Chapman unhappily had a great deal of both; and nothing we know of him entitles us to associate him with any act of spiteful enmity.

The snares of Mr. Acheson's quest become particularly obvious when we find him even identifying Shakespeare with the unnamed enemy whom Chapman, in the preface to the complete edition of the Iliad in 1611, denounces as calumniating him by asserting that he translated Homer from Latin versions, not from the Greek. It is inconceivable

that Shakespeare ever did anything of the kind. He, with his “small Latin and less Greek,” was the last man to claim to pronounce on such a question; and surely he was the last man either to trump up or pass on a false charge. That Chapman consulted Latin versions he himself tells us; and we see that he sometimes follows them more closely than he does the Greek; but that he knew the Greek is just as certain. And in a note on the twelfth *Odyssey*, 135, he addresses “my *learned* detractor,” a phrase he was not likely to apply to Shakespeare. On Mr. Acheson's own view, he accuses Shakespeare normally of ignorance. Mr. Acheson partly spoils a good case by carrying it beyond reasonable bounds. The theorem that Chapman's terms *windsucker* and *kestrel*, applied to his unnamed enemy, point to Shakespeare in respect of his *falcon* crest, is another extravagance; as is the discovery of an attack upon Shakespeare in those lines of the TEARS OF PEACE:

And how they trot out in their lives the ring
 With idly iterating oft one thing—
 A new-fought combat, an affair at sea,
 A marriage, or a progress, or a plea.
 No news but fits them as if made for them,
 Though it be forged but of a woman's dream;
 And stuff with such stol'n ends their manless breasts—
 Sticks, rags, and mud—they seem mere puttocks' nests.

The puttock, says Mr. Acheson, is again an allusion to Shakespeare's crest; and he pronounces the lines before us “a list of the well-known stock materials of Shakespeare's plays.” THE TEARS OF PEACE was published in 1609: we have but to think of the line of Shakespeare's plays from HAMLET to CORIOLANUS before dismissing the interpretation as a fantasy. The list is not even ostensibly a characterization of current plays. It would better indicate Markham's SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE, Greene's QUIP FOR AN UPSTART COURTIER, and Greene's MAIDEN'S DREAM, than anything ever penned by Shakespeare; but it probably

refers to more recent pamphlets and poems by obscure contemporaries.

Another confident inference of Mr. Acheson's seems equally unwarranted. He has no doubt that the line (II. i. 16):

Not utter'd by base sale of chapmen's tongues,

is a direct personal allusion to Chapman. Yet such an allusion would have exceeded in wanton rudeness even the large license of the Elizabethan stage, where the sparring playwrights always attacked each other under pseudonyms. Greene's "Shake-scene" was committed to a deathbed tract; and there is no instance of any dramatist aspersing another by name on the stage. That Shakespeare had no thought of a gross personal attack on his rival is sufficiently proved by the fact that Chapman himself uses a similar expression:

This beauty's fair is an enchantment made
By Nature's witchcraft, tempting men to buy,
With endless shows, what endlessly will fade,
Yet promise *chapmen* all eternity.

Ovid's Banquet, st. 52.

It might occur even to devotees that Shakespeare's own name, with its challenge to punning, would make him rather unlikely to turn a rival's name to libellous account on the stage.

These miscarriages in Mr. Acheson's commentary, it is to be feared, will be taken by some as a monition against any attempt to find biographical matter in the play and poems which we have been considering; and they do not stand alone in Shakespeare literature. Mr. Acheson accepts the common view that Spenser "very evidently" refers to Shakespeare in the well-known allusion in COLIN CLOUT'S COME HOME AGAIN to "Aetion,"

Whose Muse, full of high thoughts' invention,
Doth like himself heroically sound,

But that identification has often been weightily impugned; and the now complete abandonment of the older assumption that Shakespeare must have been Spenser's “pleasant Willy”¹ should warn its supporters against over-confidence. The hypothesis that “Ætion” is Drayton, put by Todd, Minto, and Fleay, and finally endorsed by Professor Elton, has strong claims. Both the first name (Michael) and the pen-name (Rowland) of Drayton “heroically sound”; and his HEROICAL EPISTLES are quite likely to have been current in manuscript in 1595, the year of issue of COLIN CLOUT²; whereas nothing then published by Shakespeare answers to the description. As for “Ætion,” we can choose between the “eaglet” interpretation and Fleay's ingenious thesis that it stands for *αἴτιον* = cause, ground, reason, original, and hence is the equivalent of *Idea*, the title of Drayton's sonnet cycle. Professor Elton thinks this fanciful, though *Idea* did have the force of “original” for Elizabethan Platonists; and the lexicographers actually note (as Fleay did in his reprint of his thesis in his MANUAL) that Marcus Antoninus uses *αἴτιον* in the sense of “form” as against matter, which clinches the argument. But even if we decide that the word means eaglet, and that Spenser unmetrically made “Ætion,” a trisyllable, out of *ἀέρος*, an eagle, which would give Ætion, Drayton, as Fleay shows, will still fit! For one of his sonnets, published in 1594, is entitled “AN ALLUSION TO THE EAGLETS”; and it begins:

When like an eaglet I first found my love.

On the whole, then, we had better abandon the ornithological argument which identifies Shakespeare with Chapman's “kestrel” and “windsucker.” There is no

¹ In all probability a reference to Lilly.

² It is evident that the poem had been expanded between the writing of the epistle dedicatory to Raleigh, dated 1591, and the publication in 1595.

ground whatever for the inference; and, as it happens, there is evidence of a prolonged theatrical relation between the two poets which, once realized, excludes the possibility of that extremity of ill-will which Mr. Acheson imputes to both.

PART III
“TIMON OF ATHENS”

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§ 1. CLUES TO CHAPMAN

It was noted by Professor Mackail that the verb "to dialogue," found in the COMPLAINT, occurs in TIMON OF ATHENS (II. ii. 52). It is in a scene-section pronounced by most critics to be non-Shakespearean that we find:

Dost dialogue with thy shadow?

This was for me the first clue to the discovery that the non-Shakespearean hand in TIMON, recognized by all critics—or as some may prefer to put it, one of the non-Shakespearean hands—is Chapman's. The very acceptance of Minto's hypothesis had hitherto excluded the chance of such a surmise. From Verplanck (1842) onwards, there had been a series of guesses, he beginning with Heywood, Fleay suggesting Tourneur, and Delius Wilkins; while Mr. K. Deighton, the "Arden" editor, thinks that only a nameless player could be guilty of the worst of the "vamping." That Chapman could have had a "main hand" in the play had apparently never occurred to any one. And yet if we were simply to ask which of Shakespeare's contemporaries was most likely to plan a play on Timon, or to write much of the admittedly non-Shakespearean matter in our play, most students, I think, would have named Chapman, with perhaps some hesitation in respect of Jonson. Tourneur and Marston might be thought of for a moment; but Marston's turgid diction is never suggested in the play; and Fleay, by doubting Tourneur's authorship of THE REVENGER'S TRAGEDY, has left his style a doubtful quantity. But indeed the poorest parts of TIMON are more

coherently written than any page of Tourneur. Chapman, on the other hand, is full of Timonism. In all his tragedies, from BUSSY D'AMBOIS to CHABOT and CÆSAR AND POMPEY, there is an abundant infusion of world-accusing rhetoric, even as there is in his poems, his prefaces, his postscript to the Homeridian Hymns, and his dedications. A play on Timon would be as likely an exercise for him as any he has undertaken; and the management of the action of the existing play at the very outset is like him. In the first scene of BUSSY, where the hero strikes the Timonic note, the steward who is sent by Monsieur to Bussy with money supposes him to be "some poet" who has given Monsieur "some pamphlet," in the fashion in which the poet and painter approach Timon.

In the same scene there is even a duplication of an image in the first scene of BUSSY. Monsieur there speaks of the sea,

That shuts still as it opes, and *leaves no tracts.*

The poet in TIMON has :

But flies an eagle flight, bold and forth on,
Leaving no tract behind.

And the word *tract*, which occurs only in the late HENRY VIII in the Shakespeare plays outside TIMON, and in Sonnet 7, is common in Chapman.

In the same scene, yet again, we have a set of purposely strained metaphors, of which the last and most confused is a manipulation of one used by Chapman in two signed plays :

Our poesy is as a gum which oozes¹
From whence 'tis nourished : the fire i' the flint
Shows not till it be struck ; our gentle flame
Provokes itself, and like the current flies
Each bound it chafes.

¹ A happy emendation, by Pope and Johnson, of "*gowne* which *oozes*." Fleay's "glow" is a failure in comparison. He proceeds on the "glowing of such fire" in Sonnet 73,

Compare :

Like a subtle river
That, seeming only to run on his course
Doth search yet as he runs, and still finds out
The easiest parts of entry on the shore,
Gliding so slyly by, as scarce it touched
Yet still eats something in it.

Byron's Conspiracy, III. i. 68-73.

We should imitate streams
That run below the valleys and do yield
To every molehill, every bank embrace
That checks their currents.

Byron's Tragedy, V. iv. 152-5.

In these plays something is finally made of the metaphor: in TIMON nothing; and the often debated passage :

My free drift
Halts not particularly, but moves itself
In a wide sea of wax,

is best to be understood as one of Chapman's rather frequent miscarriages of trope.

Half a dozen other verbal touches are equally like him. Timon says that

The painting is almost the natural man;
For since dishonour traffics with man's nature
He is but *outside*.

In EUGENIA we have (Vig. 2):

Am I this trunk? It is my painted sheath,
As brave young men think they are what they wear.

Bussy says that

Brave barks and *outward* gloss
Attract Court loves, be in parts ne'er so gross;

and the steward tells him :

By your no better *outside*, I would judge you
To be some poet.

This last, as we have seen, is a common expression with Chapman. Then the phrase (I. i. 47-8):

No levell'd malice
Infects *one comma* in the course I hold,

is a close parallel to the explosion in the JUSTIFICATION OF PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA :

Not being so much as touched, I witness God, nor *one syllable* suffering.

As to syntax, we have his usual ellipses :

Your honourable letter he desires
To those [who] have shut him up.

'Tis not enough to help the feeble up,
But to support him after.

And the quotation by the poet of his own lines is a proceeding frequently resorted to by Chapman in his poems.

As we proceed, we find many more marks of his work. The address of Cupid to Timon in I. ii., before the banquet, notably recalls OVID'S BANQUET OF SENSE, with its enumeration of "the five best senses." But there are structural details of more significance. The frequent transitions from verse to prose, in single speeches, have been noted, by Dr. Wright and others, as non-Shakespearean, and have even been characterized as possibly only to an inferior vamped. But such transitions are quite common in Chapman. He employs them in his Introduction to the Odyssey, and in the WIDOW'S TEARS there are a dozen. Equally in his manner are the rhymes and the irregular lines—of which, however, some are plainly corrupt, and should be so noted. Most remarkable of all is the absolute duplication of motive in TIMON, III. v. and BUSSY D'AMBOIS, II. i.—the latter part of the scene. In both the theme is

the offence of killing in a duel.¹ In BUSSY, the King, on the pleading of Monsieur, pardons the deed: in TIMON, the Senators refuse to pardon; but the arguments are the same; and the First Senator's line,

You undergo too strict a paradox,

echoes a line of THE REVENGE OF BUSSY (V. i. 192):

These paradoxes strange and too precise.²

The ill-scanned line (TIMON, III. v. 53):

Who cannot condemn rashness in cold blood?

is like hundreds of Chapman's: in the phrase “*prefer his injuries to his heart*” we have one of his common words; as again in “*suffering*”: and in the opening scene the vocabulary is peculiarly his. *Particular, particularly, conjured, continuate, rapt, confluence, austere, drift, ivory*, are all much used by him, while “to climb his happiness” is an equivalent construction to his common use of the verb “to aspire,” without an added “to.” Compare the phrase “*Chanting his joys aspired*” in ALL FOOLS, I. i. 6. But especially noteworthy is the echo in the mock-banquet scene (III. vi. 101), “Stuck and spangled with your flatteries,” from SIR GILES GOOSECAP (V. ii. 290): “And now you plaster me with flatteries.” If Shakespeare wrote all this, he was copying Chapman with a strange docility.

We are met at the outset by the critical consensus which, after Fleay, assigns the first 185 lines of TIMON wholly to Shakespeare, admitting an alien hand only at line 186, which is prose. But as this is only one of many issues (on some of which the critics are greatly at variance), all set up by the primary problem of discriminating the Shakespearean from the non-Shakespearean matter, it will be well to state

¹ This motive occurs yet again in *May-Day*, V. i. 254-5.

² In *Sir Giles Goosecap* we have: “What paradox dost thou defend in this?” (VI. iii. 78).

at once the general case for the Chapman claim, in the hope that when that is done the entire problem will admit of restatement. None of the composite plays has been more fully and ably discussed. Fleay gave the problem special and keen attention; and between the brilliant monograph of Dr. Ernest Hunter Wright¹ and the valuable edition of the play by Mr. Deighton in the "Arden" series we have all the aids to a judgment that have hitherto been possible. But if once we recognize Chapman as possible part author or originator of the play, students will see, I think, that the task of discrimination takes on new aspects. Dr. Wright, following Fleay, gives forcible reasons for reckoning Shakespeare the originator; some of the ostensible vamping being an apparent confusion of his supposed work; whereas Shakespeare as reviser would presumably have eliminated the poor and perverse matter which clogs the play. But if we conceive Shakespeare to have imperfectly recast a faulty play by Chapman, whether or not a third hand meddled later, "the case is alter'd."

The first question is, the establishing of Chapman's presence. If that be accepted, his priority is almost a matter of course. That Shakespeare should have adapted or collaborated in a play of Chapman's seems at first unlikely enough, especially if we conceive him as possessed by a bitter malice against the rival poet. But if we regard him as having waged merely a humorous quarrel with his testy rival, and remember that after all they had had a common patron, there is no difficulty in conceiving that, with or without the patron's intervention, Shakespeare's company may have bought a play of Chapman's for Shakespeare to adapt. Adaptation would certainly be necessary, in Shakespeare's opinion, for any Chapman tragedy. Were it not that the play is not strictly a tragedy, we might suspect that if *TIMON* had been begun by

¹ *The Authorship of Timon of Athens*, in the series of Columbia University Studies in English: 1910. England: Clarendon Press.

Chapman as it stands with conversational dialogue, it was as a result of a hint from the management. Chapman's way of beginning a tragedy is by a set of sonorous speeches. But that Chapman, on the other hand, would ever be called-in by the company to adapt to any great extent a play that Shakespeare had finished is nearly inconceivable; and TIMON certainly shows Shakespeare's hand at the close. What might happen would be an attempt to give some added variety of action to a Chapman play which Shakespeare had left somewhat deficient in action, as all Chapman's tragedies tended to be. In this way we might account for the heedless construction which has been so troublesome to the critics.

It is not indeed inconceivable that this process had been begun before Shakespeare's company acquired the piece; and that Shakespeare simply never completed his revision in detail; for there is no evidence that the play was ever performed, though it was evidently meant to be. Such a hypothesis seems rather more plausible than that of Fleay, to the effect that, the manuscript having been found imperfect, as is suggested by the confused pagination, the folio editors had called in somebody to piece it out with the alien matter which we actually find. That theory, indeed, appears to be now exploded.¹

If, on the other hand, we assent to the view of Dr. Wright that lines 292-375 of Scene iii of Act IV are an insertion, and that we should pass on from line 291:

For here it sleeps and does no hired harm,

to 376:

I am sick of this false world,

we in effect assign the intervening matter to a later hand; for lines 376-93 are pretty certainly Shakespeare's. But if we conceive Shakespeare as revising Chapman,

¹ By Mr. Josiah Quincy Adams. Dr. Wright, as cited, p. 98.

there is no difficulty in assigning to Chapman the matter supposed to have been interpolated. In effect, lines 376-90 can be more easily understood as a purple patch by Shakespeare on prior matter than can all the rest be imagined to be cheap embroidery afterwards set around his lines. The play as it stands is uncommonly short; and it must either have been very short indeed, as Dr. Wright admits, or have suffered much mangling, if it lacked all the stretches of rapid dialogue which we are invited to regard as post-Shakespearean.

It is like enough indeed that Shakespeare, revising, grew tired; and he may even have curtailed the scolding-match between Timon and Apemantus; for he now makes Timon suddenly prepare us for his death and burial, which are still a number of scenes off. Some such touch of poetry was certainly wanted to keep our sympathy for the greater misanthrope, who was beginning to assimilate to Apemantus. But to say, as does Dr. Wright,¹ that "no one would imagine" lines 291 and 376 "had ever been separated," if they are read in context, is to make a quite unwarranted claim. Dr. Wright has himself called for surprise at the continued presence of Apemantus *after* Timon's soliloquy-address to the gold, claiming that "Only one inference is then possible. Shakespeare wrote the soliloquy; the other author must have written the leave-taking which *precedes* it."² This is true in fact, but we are not thereby entitled to say that Shakespeare's work came first. The slanging-match was *not* a leave-taking; and if we leap from line 291 to 394 we have still the "surprising" fact that Timon has soliloquized of his grave and epitaph in the presence of Apemantus; not having dismissed him. The surprise, in short, is presumably Shakespeare's work, not the other man's.

The rest of Dr. Wright's vigorous and ingenious

¹ P. 80.

² P. 49.

argument to prove the priority of Shakespeare seems to me similarly inconclusive. What he really proves is only that the other man had constructed his plot badly. But on his own view Shakespeare had done the same thing. The scene of the banishment of Alcibiades, he argues, cannot be Shakespeare's, because it makes Alcibiades turn against Athens on his own account, whereas the play makes him finally profess to be avenging the wrongs of Timon. I agree that the Senate scene is not Shakespeare's: the thesis debated, the style, the verse, and the vocabulary, are all Chapman's. I agree likewise that the banquet scene (I. ii.) is not Shakespeare's: it is pure Chapman. But on Dr. Wright's view Shakespeare had framed the play without *any* explanation of the banishment of Alcibiades; and meant seriously to present him as going to war because the Senate had refused to restore the fortunes of a bankrupt lord who had simply thrown his money out of the window. Shakespeare was not wont to frame such action on such motives.

A more reasonable solution of the Alcibiades episode, the confusion about Flavius, and the hiatus in the action as regards Ventidius (who apparently was meant to have played the ingrate like the other beneficiaries of Timon, but does not reappear for the purpose), is simply to say that the original draft was ill-constructed, and probably not finally revised by its author. We can almost see the play growing under his hands. Its fundamental weakness was that, as given in the sources, the plot could not properly make a play at all. For Chapman, that was never a deterrent. In curious contrast with the rapid action of his comedies is the slow evolution of his tragedies. He has made two dramas out of the treason of the Duke of Byron, by sheer multiplication of rhetorical situations and speeches, the first play ending without anything being done. An entire Act, the fourth, is spent in recitals of past

speeches, all irrelevant to the action.¹ Either of his own accord or upon admonition, he sets himself to invent episodes of action to eke out *TIMON*, which is rather a grave comedy, ending with a natural death, than an Elizabethan tragedy proper; and all the incoherences of the play arise out of that effort. To doubt that he could have so miscarried is not open to those whose theory makes Shakespeare do no better. That he should first make Alcibiades rebel in his own quarrel and then affect to be the avenger of Timon is perfectly compatible with his ordinary way of working. And, once we can conceive that Shakespeare's company should take a play of his at all, there is no difficulty in supposing that they took from him a play which he had not properly finished, and which, finally, Shakespeare did not reduce to unity. Shakespeare's construction-work is far from being impeccable.

One reason for wondering whether the play ever reached the stage is the standing confusion, not only as to the use made of Ventidius but as to the sums (in talents) requested of his false friends and of the Senate by Timon. In the second section of the first scene, the debt of Ventidius is reasonably named at five talents, the equivalent of £1,200; and the dowry of Lucilius's daughter at three talents. In the closing scene-section of Act II, again, the messengers to the three lords are told to ask of each fifty talents—a sufficiently stiff request, but one which may be passed as representing the abundance of Timon's former bounty and the largeness of his present need. It represents his conviction that he had benefited the three lords to the extent of more than £12,000 apiece. But when, immediately afterwards, Timon directs Flavius to go to the senators and

Bid 'em send o' the instant
A thousand talents to me,

¹ This, it seems, was a result of the vetoing of the original Act by the censor.

it is difficult to believe that the writer knew what exactly a talent was. The treasury of Queen Elizabeth would not in such a case have required to make the halting reply which Flavius says the Senate had given to his previous appeal. The officials would simply have sent the messenger to Bedlam. But in Scene ii of Act III (13) we have the second stranger mentioning that one of Timon's men “was with the Lord Lucullus to borrow *so many* talents”; and Lucius in turn (26) says: “I should ne'er have denied his occasion *so many* talents.” Then, when Lucius is himself appealed to for “*so many* talents” (l. 41) he answers:

I know his lordship is but merry with me :
He cannot want fifty five hundred talents.

One thing is quite clear: the writer of the “so many” passages was in doubt as to the number he should insert, and had either left blanks or put the two words cited. Why? Again we are forced to surmise that he was finally in doubt as to what a talent stood for; which agrees with the impression set up by the “thousand talents” of Act II. Now, this doubt could be partly accounted for by the opening speech of Act II:

And late, five thousand: to Varro and to Isidore
He owes nine thousand; besides my former sum,
Which makes it five and twenty.

The numbers here cannot possibly refer to talents: in Act III Scene iv we gather that the units are crowns: but this has not yet been indicated, and the writer of the “thousand talents” message to the Senate might conceivably have been confused by reading the senator's figures with no unit specified. To ask for a loan of a twenty-fifth part of one's debts would be a comparatively moderate proceeding.

Putting the problem in terms of our hypothesis, we

get this: that Chapman wrote the "five talents," "five and twenty [thousand]" and "fifty talents" passages; that the message to the senators demanding a thousand talents is introduced by Shakespeare; and that the "so many" passages are also his. Then for the "fifty five hundred talents" we have a choice of two solutions. "So many" having been just before asked for, the writer may have tentatively put two numbers, one over the other; or, finding "fifty," he may have written "five hundred" in the margin, by way of accounting for the next line:

But in the mean time he wants less, my lord.

That the manuscript should have been left in this state for actual performance seems very unlikely. It is conceivable, indeed, that the printers finally got the main manuscript, which may have been left unrevised, while the actors' parts, separately written out, had been made precise. On that view the other confusions of the play may equally be regarded as the flaws of an unrevised draft, finally used by the printers in the absence of a corrected copy. But on any view we are left with the data of a first writer who knew what a talent stood for, and a second writer who was in doubt on the subject. And as the "talent" never occurs elsewhere in Shakespeare's plays save by way of metaphor—and seldom at that—we are so far justified in counting Chapman the first writer and Shakespeare the second.

The important thing, of course, is the demonstration of Chapman's presence; and the judicial method of Dr. Wright actually leaves such a demonstration open. He notes, for instance, that some of the items in *TIMON* are derived from the old "academic" comedy (*circa* 1600), and are not found in Lucian's dialogue; and to the argument that the deep misanthropy of Timon comes from Lucian and not from the comedy he replies¹ that Shakespeare was sure

¹ Work cited, p. 21.

to give Timon a deep misanthropy if he handled him at all. As to the academic comedy he argues, fairly enough, that Shakespeare may very well have heard of it even if he had not seen it, and that nothing more is required to explain his introduction of the mock banquet and the faithful steward. But, on the other hand, Chapman was at least as likely as Shakespeare to have heard of—still more to have seen—the academic comedy, and he was certainly more likely to have known the Dialogue of Lucian, to say nothing of the other sources for the Timon story. In this way we account for the fairly clear traces of Lucian’s phraseology which Mr. Deighton notes in the play; and when we find that these traces occur in passages far more readily assignable to another hand than to Shakespeare, the Chapman hypothesis is greatly strengthened. If, further, we can show that the style in these places is really very like Chapman’s, it seems to become irresistible.

On the question of style, again, Dr. Wright scrupulously avows that a quantity of the second-best verse in the play, though it may pass as Shakespeare’s, is not to be pronounced unquestionably his. Quoting three speeches from the opening dialogue (I. i. 63–83), beginning with the poet’s

Sir, I have upon a high and pleasant hill
Feign’d Fortune to be thron’d,

he writes¹ (*italics mine*):

This is merely exposition. There is practically no emotion; no incitement to a soaring flight of poetry. The passage is excellent; it reaches easily the plane of Shakespeare when he is not stirr’d to a great moment of pathos or of passion. We do not need to say it is inevitably Shakespearean. *Should we find it in a play by Chapman, or by Massinger or Beaumont, we should have no doubt that any of these dramatists was equal to it; we find it in a play printed as Shakespeare’s and we call it amply good enough for him. If there were nothing in the play inferior to it, we should have no reason to think that Shakespeare did not write the whole; if the work suspected to be spurious in TIMON*

¹ Work cited, p. 25.

had been written by one of the other authors mentioned, we should find his portions hard to separate upon esthetic evidence. But when we find that in artistic merit the suspected portions, one and all, fall so far below the passage we have quoted that their author cannot rival any great Elizabethan poet, we shall have strong esthetic reason to consider the passage quoted, and others like it in the play, Shakespeare's work.

Considering that Dr. Wright had no notion that any part of the play might be assigned to Chapman,¹ this very judicial passage seems to me as important as it is remarkable; and I am well content to argue the case with the italicized passages as common ground. First of all I will take a speech from TIMON which Dr. Wright, following Fleay, confidently—and rightly—pronounces non-Shakespearean, namely, the twenty-one lines (30-50) of the speech of Flavius in Scene i of Act IV after the parting of the servants. Dr. Wright, like Fleay, takes them to be an addition made to Shakespeare's work by the inferior hand which followed him. But I would submit that the lines in question are *not* so inferior "that their author cannot rival any great Elizabethan poet." Even the speech of the third servant, which has certainly been touched by Shakespeare, suggests a Chapman basis, inasmuch as "this sea of air" points to his four times repeated phrase "flood of air" (MASK: Last Song; 11th Iliad, 266; Hymn to Hermes: Poems, p. 290*b*; Georgics of Hesiod: p. 226*a*). The soliloquy of Flavius is unrevised; but there are plenty of poorer speeches among the non-Shakespearean dramatists; certainly there are in Massinger. The passage begins:

O, the fierce wretchedness that glory brings us!
 Who would not wish to be from wealth exempt,
 Since riches point to misery and contempt?
 Who'd he so mock'd with glory? or to live
 But in a dream of friendship?

¹ "We should be gratified," he writes (p. 101), "if we could put a finger on a man who touched pens with Shakespeare in the play; but it is not likely we shall ever do so."

To have his pomp and all what state compounds [?]
 But only painted, like his varnish'd friends?
 Poor honest lord, brought low by his own heart,
 Undone by goodness!

The very form of this deliverance will at once recall to those familiar with Chapman a number of similar speeches in his plays. For instance:

O the most base fruits of a settled peace!
 In men I mean; worse than their dirty fields
 Which they manure much better than themselves . . .
Byron's Tragedy, IV. i. 1.

Oh, of what contraries consists a man!
 Of what impossible mixtures! vice and virtue,
 Corruption and eternesse at one time,
 And in one subject, let together loose!
Id. V. iii.

O Virtue, thou art now far worse than Fortune.
Id. ib.

Oh, all the world forsakes me! wretched world,
 Consisting most of parts that fly each other;
 A firmness breeding all inconstaney;
 A bond of all disjunction.
Id. V. iv.

O strange carriage of their acts, by which
 Men order theirs, and their devotions in them.
Cæsar and Pompey, IV. ii.

This exclamatory method is habitual with him, and it is more often turned to the account of outcry against the world than to any other. The soliloquy of Flavius, alike in matter and manner, is Chapman all over. Certainly it is not Shakespeare; but it may quite well be second-rate Chapman. And we must guard against false inferences from a mangled text. The one irregular line (48) in the latter part of the passage cited:

I'll follow and inquire him out,

is in all likelihood corrupt, and should be emended by

reading "follow after"; as an earlier line (III. v. 57) is to be emended by inserting "sometimes," which is needed both for sense and for scansion:

To be in anger is impiety;
But who is man that is not [sometimes] angry?

As a whole, the speech of Flavius is not mere vamer's work, and it has several special marks of Chapman, notably the use of "exempt," which is one of his tic-words:

Exempt of hope and fear.

Gentleman Usher, IV. i.

Enough t'assure all danger is exempt.

Id. V. line 8 from end.

To watch a time when all his wariest guards
Shall not exempt him.

Revenge of Bussy, III. ii. 125.

Had our person been
Exempted from his malice.

Admiral of France, V. iii. 142.

And he a swimmer so exempt from peer.

Trans. of Battle of Frogs and Mice.

Though most exempt from match of all carth's seeds.

Id.

From honour's court their servile feet exempt.

A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophy, Sonnet 10.

And make me live even from myself exempt.

To M. Harriots (with Achilles' Shield).

The most exempt in wealth, power, birth.

Epicidium.

Puff'd contempt
Spurs to despair, from all fit food exempt.

Id.

Exempt from freres.

Id.

A virgin exempted from comparison.

Argument to Andromeda Liberata.

Th' exempt Isle from the World.

Pro Vere, Autumni Lachrymae.

All which, from all resistance stand exempt.

Epist. Ded. to Earl of Somerset, with *Hymns of Homer.*

Swore . . . that all attempt
To do me ill is from your thoughts exempt.

10th Odyssey, 458.

Even where from rape their strengths are most exempt.

6th Odyssey, 192.

Where the divine rapture is most exempt from capacity in
grammarians merely.

Comm. on 1st Iliad.

Exempt from such base tongues as his.

2nd Iliad, 241.

That bears a mind so most exempt.

10th Iliad, 214.

Foaming and neighing, quite exempt from awe.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

A place pure and exempt from blood.

8th Iliad.

Clearly, once more, the passage is non-Shakespearean : it “comes short of genuine passion.” Pathos nearly always eludes Chapman, as it did Marlowe, and indeed most of the Elizabethans ; and only Shakespeare could have put the touch of tears in the last speech of the play :

Yet rich conceit
Taught thee to make vast Neptune weep for aye
On thy low grave, on *faults forgiven.*

It is probably a condensation by Shakespeare of a longer deliverance by Chapman ; for, if we accept Chapman as planner of the play, we must suppose him to have worked-in finally the epitaphs, both given him by the sources. It

is to Chapman that we must assign the third scene of Act V, rejected by all the critics as absurd and supererogatory. It is bad art enough, but it is not really supererogatory. Dr. Wright remarks on the absurdity of making the soldier able to read in line 3, and unable to read in line 6. The older commentators did not agree that in line 3 the soldier is reading; but I hold with Dr. Wright that he is. The natural solution is that a notice hung up is in the vernacular, and that the epitaph on the tomb is supposed to be in a "learned" language. "Our Captain hath in every figure skill," says the soldier. Even a vamerper must be supposed to mean something; and if we read: "I cannot read't" in Chapman's manner, we may understand. Even at the finish, as it happens, we have the two epitaphs of the records, Timon in the first couplet refusing to give his name, and in the second giving it. *That* is not exactly Shakespearean, and it is certainly a process of supererogation. But the final reading out of the epitaphs by Alcibiades is fore-planned, and the taking of the inscription in wax by the soldier is the simple device for the purpose.

That Chapman drafted a speech for Alcibiades I infer from such diction as "Scorn'dst our brain's flow and these our droplets," which is un-Shakespearean, and very like the other man. The *key* of the speech is that of the valediction to the slain Montsurry by his wife and Clermont in *THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS* (V. v. 114):

Cl. Noble and Christian!

Ta. O, it breaks my heart!

Cl. *And should; for all faults found in him before*
These words, this end, *makes full amends and more.*

Rest, worthy soul, and with it the dear spirit
Of my loved brother, rest in endless peace;
Soft lie thy bones; Heaven be your soul's abode,
And to your ashes be the earth no load.

Shakespeare, I take it, has made the difference. Chapman had not the secret of tears,¹ as he has not the secret of the mighty Shakespearean rhythm :

Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
Upon the beachèd verge of the salt flood,
Who² once a day with his embossèd froth
The turbulent surge shall cover.

By such greatness in the verse we can always be sure of what is beyond Chapman in TIMON. But when we have recognized that the “fierce wretchedness” speech *is* his, we come back to the opening scene to claim that what admittedly *could* there be his is actually his. It may have been slightly revised by Shakespeare as to the versification : perhaps even a line or two here and there may be of his adding ; but it is substantially Chapman’s. The very first lines quoted by Dr. Wright, with their characteristic inversion, are to be assigned to him rather than to Shakespeare. The whole dialogue breathes of Chapman, and the lines :

Amongst them all
Whose eyes are on his sovereign lady fix’d
One do I *personate* of Lord Timon’s frame,
Whom Fortune with her *ivory hand wafts to her* ;
Whose present grace to present slaves and servants
Translates his rivals,

not only are thoroughly in his manner but embody another of his tics. And first as to the “precious” use of “ivory,” which so weakens the effect of the image. This is characteristically Chapmanesque. Mr. Deighton cites the “ivory

¹ Though he has added to the *Odyssey* these notable lines :

In things
That move past utterance, tears ope all their springs ;
Nor are there in the powers that all life bears
More true interpreters of all than tears.

8th Odyssey, 720-4.

² *Who* here = whom, = which, *i.e.* the grave.

wall" from *LUCRECE*, 464; but Chapman uses the term a score of times:

- His ivory skin.
Hero and Leander, iii.
- The ivory-wristed¹ Queen.
Hom. Hymn to Apollo.
- Whose arms had wrists as white as ivory.¹
Short Hymn to Hermes.
- Yet take yon in your ivory clutches
This noble duke and be his duchess.
Gentleman Usher, II. Bug's Song.
- The ivory brawn of his right arm.
Eugenia, Vigil. Secunda.
- Her ivory brows.
Revenge of Bussy, V. iii. 27.
- Her ivory breasts.
Byron's Tragedy, II. 24.
- That concealed and expressive verse
That Justice in her ivory manual writ.
Tears of Peace.
- Upon a world in her [Justice's] chaste lap did lie
A little ivory book.
Id.
- Juno, deck'd with wrists of ivory.²
Hom. Hymn to Hermes, 13.
- The ivory-finger'd² Queen.
1st Iliad, first version.
- The ivory³ skin.
4th Iliad, 160.
- Her ivory⁴ body.
5th Iliad, 338.

¹ Where the original has "white-armed."

² "White-armed" in original, as before.

³ The epithet is not in the original, though "ivory" occurs in the descriptive image following.

⁴ Not in the original.

Nausicaa with the wrists of ivory.¹

6th *Odyssey*, 141.

Ivory-arm'd¹ Nausicaa.

7th *Odyssey*, 19.

The ivory bounders of his tongue and taste.²

10th *Odyssey*, 438.

Thy pale of ivory.²

1st *Odyssey*, 110.

In the last-cited instance, the poet notes that he thus renders ἔρκος ὀδόντων “for the better sound in our language.” Here we have a general use of the epithet “ivory” in preference to “white” (though that is used at times), or in sheer redundancy, as in the passage before us in TIMON. The ivory *hand* of Fortune, again, compares with the “white left *hand*” of Justice in the TEARS OF PEACE; “her silvery hand” in BYRON’S TRAGEDY (II. 28); Panthea, “her white hand to Eros giving” in the MASK OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE; Achilles, “his fair hand far-thrusting out his shield” (20th Iliad, 237); the “fair hand” of Pallas in the Sonnet to the Lady Arabella; and the line in MAY-DAY (V. 187): “*Wafted me to her with her hand,*” which again recalls the line:

Waft him aloof with hats and other favours,

in THE GENTLEMAN USHER (I. line 3 from end). The “fair hand” image occurs in Chapman a score of times. And the false stress of “to her,” and the distorted phrase about present grace *translating*³ present rivals to slaves and servants, are as like Chapman, who has hundreds of such false stresses, as they are unlike Shakespeare. The phrasing before us runs constantly to such conceits as the last cited. “Rain sacrificial whisperings in his ear”

¹ Original, “White-armed,” as usual.

² Original, “fence of the teeth.”

³ Compare: “If Diana for your curiosity should translate you into a monkey.”—*Widow’s Tears*, II. i. 31.

might pass for "Shakespearean" in respect of its Elizabethan extravagance: but such a use of "sacrificial" is not Shakespeare's.¹ Finally, in the verse part of the scene there are sixteen imperfect lines in 190, and three alexandrines, which ought on Dr. Wright's own view to raise critical doubts.

But it is time to handle the problem as a whole.

¹ As it happens, he never elsewhere uses the word; and I have not found it in Chapman either. It seems to have been new about that period.

§ 2. THE TEST OF VOCABULARY

PROCEEDING to examine the vocabulary of the play in general, we find a notable number of words which occur only in *TIMON* in the Shakespeare concordance, or only there in the same sense, and of which a large number occur more or less often in Chapman. With these may be included a small number which occur rarely in the other Shakespeare plays, and usually in late ones. Where such recurrences are not noted in the following list, the words are only once used:

1. *Jeweller*, I. i. 8. Occurs only in *ALL'S WELL*, V. iii. 297.
2. *Untirable*, I. i. 11. "To an untirable and continue goodnes."
3. *Continue*. Last reference. This occurs only in *OTHELLO*, III. iv. 178, and there with a different force: "in a more continue [= freer or leisured] time."
4. *Presentment* (= presentation), I. i. 27. This word occurs only in *HAMLET*, III. iv. 54, and there in the sense of *picture*.
5. *Confluence*, I. i. 42.
6. *Beneath* (adj.), I. i. 44. "This beneath world."
7. *Particularly*, I. i. 46. Found only in *CORIOLANUS*, IV. v. 72.
8. *Windpipe*, I. ii. 52. Occurs only in *HENRY V*, III. vi. 45.
9. *Tract*, I. i. 50. Occurs only in *Sonnet vii* and *HENRY VIII*, I. i. 40.

10. *Properties* (verb), I. i. 57: "Subdues and properties to his love and 'tendance." The verb occurs in KING JOHN, V. ii. 79.
11. *'Tendance* (last cit., also line 80). Found only in HENRY VIII and CYMBELINE.
12. *Glass-faced*, I. i. 58.
13. *Sphere*, I. i. 66: "This sphere" (= the earth). *Sphere* is elsewhere used by Shakespeare only in the sense of orbit or place.
14. *Propagate*, I. i. 67: "Propagate their states" = "advance their fortunes." A use not found elsewhere in Shakespeare, who gives the word only its normal force. Compare ALL'S WELL, II. i. 20; ROMEO AND JULIET, I. i. 193; PERICLES, II. ii. 73.
15. *Personate*, I. i. 69: "One do I personate in Lord Timon's frame." (Also *personating*, V. i. 35.) Occurs with a slightly different force in CYMBELINE, V. v. 454. But *personated* in TWELFTH NIGHT, II. iii. 173, has the same force as in TIMON.
16. *Scope* (= aim), I. i. 72: "'Tis conceived to scope." Shakespeare elsewhere seems always to use the word in its modern sense of range.
17. *Steepy*, I. i. 75. Occurs in Sonnet 63.
18. *Sacrificial*, I. i. 81.
19. *Period* (verb), I. i. 99: "Which failing, periods his comfort."
20. *Unclew*, I. i. 168: "It would unclaw me quite."
21. *Unpeaceable*, I. i. 280.
22. *Apperil*, I. ii. 32: "Let me stay at thine apperil, Timon."
23. *Dich*, I. ii. 73: "Much good dich thy good heart."
24. *Sweep* (noun), I. ii. 137: "What a sweep of vanity comes this way."
25. *Deprave* (verb = slander), I. ii. 145: "Who lives that's not depraved or depraves?" The indicative occurs in MUCH ADO, V. i. 95; the participle in

LEAR, II. iv. 139—in the latter case with the modern force. But *depravation* = slander occurs in TROILUS.

26. *Jutting*, I. ii. 236. *Jutty* (verb) occurs in HENRY V, III. i. 15, and as a substantive in MACBETH, I. vi. 6.
27. *Able* (adj.): “It foals me, straight, and able horses” (II. i. 10). In Shakespeare the word occurs usually in the constructions “to be able” and “able to.” Only in three other instances does he use it as here: “able horse” in 1 HENRY IV (probably a recast play); “able man” and “able means” in HENRY VIII, and “able spirit” in Sonnet 85.
28. *Ceased* (= put off, silenced): “Be not ceased with slight denial” (II. i. 16). In the SHREW (Induction, ii. 13) we have: “Heaven cease this idle humour in your lordship”; and in CYMBELINE, V. v. 255: “Stuff which . . . would cease The present power of life.” *Ceased* occurs only twice in other plays, and there with the normal intransitive force. There is, however, a less marked transitive use in LUCRECE (“cease thou thy course,” l. 1765) and in the VENUS (“ceased his . . . noise,” l. 919).
29. *Reliances*, II. i. 22.
30. *Fracted*, same line: “fracted dates.” Used humorously in HENRY V, II. i. 130: “His heart is fracted and corroborate.”
31. *Dialogue* (verb), II. i. 52. Noted above.
32. *Detention*, II. ii. 39.
33. *Unaptness*, II. ii. 140.
34. *Auditor*, II. ii. 163. As this is a *required* word, it is of no evidential significance. It occurs, also as a required word, in 1 HENRY IV, II. i. 63.
35. *Spilth*, II. ii. 169.
36. *Corporate*, II. ii. 213. “They answer in a joint and corporate voice.” Used farcically in 2 HENRY IV, III. ii. 235.

37. *Fractions*, II. ii. 220. "These hard fractions." Twice in *TROILUS*.
38. *Caked*, II. ii. 225. "Their blood is caked."
39. *Ingeniously* (= ingenuously?), II. ii. 230. "Ingeniously I speak."
40. *Respectively* (= respectfully or courteously), III. i. 7: "You are very respectively welcome." Nowhere else in Shakespeare; though he has *respective* four times in the ordinary Elizabethan sense of respectful or considerate.
41. *Ewer*, III. i. 6. Occurs twice in Induction to the *SHREW*.
42. *Solidares*, III. i. 46.
43. *Recoverable*, III. iv. 13.
44. *Retentive* (in a physical sense), III. iv. 82: "Must my house Be my retentive enemy, my gaol?" Occurs with the same force in *JULIUS CÆSAR*, I. iii. 95. *Retention* has corresponding force in *LEAR*, V. iii. 47.
45. *Outsides*, III. v. 33. The plural occurs nowhere else, though the singular is common in Chapman, as in Shakespeare.
46. *Repugnancy*, III. v. 45.
47. *Usuring*, III. v. 10; also IV. iii. 516.
48. *Humidity*, IV. iii. 2. Occurs in the *MERRY WIVES*, III. iii. 43.
49. *Dividant* (= divisible), IV. iii. 12.
50. *Rother* (= ox or cow), IV. iii. 12.
51. *Oblique*, IV. iii. 18. Occurs in *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*, V. i. 60.
52. *Fang* (verb), IV. iii. 23: "Destruction fang mankind."
53. *Wappened*, IV. iii. 38.
54. *Embalms*, IV. iii. 40. Occurs in *HENRY VIII*, IV. ii. 170.
55. *Spices* (verb), IV. iii. 40.
56. *Gouty*, IV. iii. 46. Occurs in *TROILUS*, I. ii. 30, and in the *COMPLAINT*.

57. *Voiced*, IV. iii. 81.
58. *Penurious*, IV. iii. 92.
59. *Trenchant*, IV. iii. 115.
60. *Exhaust*, IV. iii. 119.
61. *Vestments*, IV. iii. 125. Occurs in the COMEDY OF ERRORS, II. i. 94.
62. *Mountant*, IV. iii. 135.
63. *Oathable*, IV. iii. 135.
64. *Predominate*, IV. iii. 142. Occurs in the MERRY WIVES, II. ii. 294.
65. *Turncoats*, IV. iii. 143. Occurs in MUCH ADO, I. i. 125.
66. *Hoar* (verb), IV. iii. 155: “Hoar the flamen.”
67. *Flamen*, last cit. Occurs in CORIOLANUS, II. i. 229.
68. *Erection*, IV. iii. 164. Used only literally in the other plays.
69. *Grave* (verb = bury), IV. iii. 166.
70. *Unmeasurable*, IV. iii. 178.
71. *Ensear*, IV. iii. 187.
72. *Conceptious*, IV. iii. 187.
73. *Marbled* (= made marble), IV. iii. 191.
74. *Liquorish*, IV. iii. 194.
75. *Unctuous*, IV. iii. 195.
76. *Greases*, IV. iii. 195.
77. *Carper*, IV. iii. 209.
78. *Hinge* (verb), IV. iii. 211.
79. *Approachers*, IV. iii. 216.
80. *Wreakful*, IV. iii. 229. Occurs in TITUS ANDRONICUS, IV. iii. 239.
81. *Castigate*, IV. iii. 240.
82. *Enforcedly*, IV. iii. 241.
83. *Swath*, IV. iii. 252. Occurs in TROILUS, V. v. 25.
84. *Confectionary*, IV. iii. 260.
85. *Remotion* (= removedness), IV. iii. 346: “All thy safety were remotion, and thy defence absence.” Occurs in LEAR, II. iv. 115.
86. *Mast* (= acorns), IV, iii. 422.

87. *Antidote*, IV. iii. 435. Occurs in *MACBETH*, V. iii. 43.
88. *Composture*, IV. iii. 444.
89. *Exceptless* (= making no exception), IV. iii. 502.
90. *Softness*, V. i. 36.
91. *Opulency*, V. i. 38.
92. *Patchery* (= roguery), V. i. 99.
93. *Cauterizing*, V. i. 136.
94. *Recanter*, V. i. 149.
95. *Sorrow'd* (= sorrowful or remorseful), V. i. 152: "To make their *sorrow'd render*."
96. *Render* (noun), last cit. Occurs as a noun twice in *CYMBELINE*, and there only, save in *Sonnet* 125.
97. *Approaches* (noun, plural), V. i. 167. Occurs in *HENRY V*, II. iv. 9.
98. *Contumelious*, V. i. 177. Occurs only in 1 and 2 *HENRY VI*, in non-Shakespearean passages.
99. *Whittle* (= knife), V. i. 177.
100. *Fragile*, V. i. 204.
101. *Traversed*, V. iv. 7: "Have wandered with our traversed arms."
102. *Pursy*, V. iv. 12. Occurs in *HAMLET*, III. iv. 153.
103. *Decimation*, V. iv. 31.
104. *Bluster*, V. iv. 41: "The bluster of thy wrath." Occurs in the plural, in the *WINTER'S TALE*, III. iii. 4.
105. *Rampired* (= having rampires or ramparts), V. iv. 47: "Our rampired gates."
106. *Regular*, V. iv. 61.
107. *Insculpture*, V. v. 67.

This list has been compiled without any exhaustive scrutiny, and could doubtless be added to, especially in respect of flexions of common words. But our list is probably sufficient for our purpose. It is needless to stress the point that seventy words peculiar to one play in the

Concordance, and thirty to one scene, constitute proof of an alien presence; for the composite character of the play is universally admitted. On the other hand it does not follow that every once-used word in the list is non-Shakespearean. Some once-used words are to be looked for in every play, however homogeneous; and words commonly used by Shakespeare, on the other hand, may be found in the alien parts of composite plays. In such inquiries the vocabulary test must always be checked by others; and in the case of a neologizing writer like Chapman, who uses so many words once or twice only, we need not hope to parallel all the vocabulary of any one piece. As to the COMPLAINT, which we have seen sufficient reason, I think, for assigning to him, we found in his signed work only a minority of the words of Professor Mackail's first list—those never found outside of the COMPLAINT in the Shakespearean concordance. As to TIMON we are in similar case. In the long and diversified third scene of Act IV we find some thirty such words; and of these I have noted only sixteen in Chapman. If as many or more could be found in any other dramatist of the period, we should have a *prima facie* case for surmising his presence. But I can find no such dramatist: a few of the words occur in Jonson, but not enough to set up a strong surmise of his collaboration. Unless his hand can be shown to be present, we are held down to the position, as regards vocabulary, that either of the two writers in question may have penned some or many of the once-used words; and for purposes of discrimination we must finally rely on the tests of style, versification, imagery, purport, and syntax. We are entitled to claim that Chapman, the supreme neologist, could have coined all of the new once-used words here, as he demonstrably did in the COMPLAINT. On the other hand, once-used words which can be traced to him occur in speeches which are not of his versification. The legitimate inference is that Shakespeare, recasting parts of the play, turned into his own rhythm speeches drafted by

Chapman. For instance, all the critics rightly assign to Shakespeare the speech of Timon (IV. iii. 176-96), addressing the

Common mother, thou
Whose womb unmeasurable, and infinite breast,
Teems, and feeds all.

Yet in this speech we have the verb-form *marbled*, which does occur in Chapman, but never elsewhere in Shakespeare; and also *unmeasurable*, *liquorish*, and *unctuous*, which are in the same case. "*Greases* his pure mind" may pretty confidently be assigned to Chapman also. Still, we pronounce the speech a re-writing of Chapman by Shakespeare: the verse is not Chapman's. It would not suffice to say that the line

Whereon Hyp̄erion's quickening fire doth shine

must be Shakespeare's because Shakespeare uses that scansion in HAMLET and elsewhere, whereas the scholarly Chapman correctly writes:

Great Hyper̄ion's hornèd daughter drawn. . . .
Shadow of Night, st. 23.

Like other scholars of his time, Chapman varied in his scansions; and we have from him:

And bright Hyp̄erion, that light all eyes shows.
Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

Hyp̄erion's lovely powers; from whence her name
Took sound of Python.
Id.

And as when bright Hyp̄erion holds to us
His golden torch.
Trans. of Politian, in Pref. to *Iliad*.

In yet other instances he has this scansion. We must fall

back on the versification, which is so absolutely different, in its continuous harmony, from the work of Chapman in this play and elsewhere. But before attempting an all-round assignment, it may be well to note what the evidence from vocabulary amounts to.

§ 3. CHAPMAN'S VOCABULARY COLLATED

OF the list given above I find the following in Chapman, or suggested there. A number are tic-words of his:—

1. *Jeweller*. Poem on Jonson's SEJANUS; BUSSY D'AMBOIS, II. i. 120.

2. *Continueate*.

With a *continueate* tenour, full of art.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo: Poems, p. 283a.

To leave a sure pace on *continueate* earth.

Byron's Conspiracy, I. ii. 142.

Her handmaids joined in a *continueate* yell.

4th Odyssey, 962.

One *continueate* rock.

10th Odyssey, 119.

3. *Presentment*. Occurs as title in the MASK OF THE INNER TEMPLE; BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, IV. i. 24; also in the Epistle Dedicatory; and in preamble to Sonnet 1; and, in the plural, in THE GENTLEMAN USHER, II. i. 111 (ed. Parrott), THE WIDOW'S TEARS, II. iv. 61; and the Dedication of the Georgics of Hesiod.

4. *Confluence*.

Fill a vall [= valley]

With such a *confluence* of streams.

4th Iliad, 480.

As a flood . . . that besides both hedge and bridge resigns
To his rough *confluence*, far spread.

5th Iliad, 100.

Th' inhabitants in flocks and herds are wondrous confluent.
9th Iliad, 157.

Impress'd with ceaseless confluence.
Ovid's Banquet of Sense, st. 18.

Nor in the sixth day any influence falls
 To fashion her begetting confluence.
Trans. of Hesiod's Book of Days.

An entirely well-sorted and digested confluence of all.
Epist. Ded. to Earl of Somerset.

Their joy is super-excellent
 To see a court so confluent.
Phyllis and Flora, xciv.

For all this confluent
 Resounds my royalty.
Battle of Frogs and Mice, 24.

Neptune's confluence.
5th Odyssey, 70.

O father Jupiter, from thee descends the confluence
 Of all man's ill.
19th Iliad, 262.

Nor can with all the confluence break through his rooty sides.
17th Iliad, 654.

5. *Beneath* as an adjective occurs in the 13th Odyssey, 213; and the phrase “this beneath world” chimes singularly with a number of Chapman's:

Men of the under-globe.
19th Iliad, 2.

O ye Gods, I see we have a soul
 In th' under dwellings.
23rd Iliad, 94.

To settle their abode
 With equals, flying under-strifes.
20th Iliad, 138.

These under regions,
11th Odyssey, 624.

[Earth] who all the birth
 Gives food that all her upper regions breed:
 All that in her divine diffusions feed
 In under continents.

Hom. Hymn to Earth.

O Earth! broad heaven's inferior sphere.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

Pluto, God of under-grounds.

15th Iliad, 176.

The under-seated Deities.

Id. 208.

The under earth.

Hom. Hymn to Hermes: Poems, p. 290b.

Compare:

Look'st ever upwards and liv'st still beneath.

Tears of Peace, 12.

That like earth's sons plough
 All under-worlds, and ever downwards grow.

Invective against Ben Jonson.

6. *Particularly.* Occurs twice in MASK OF THE INNER TEMPLE; also in THE WIDOW'S TEARS, II. ii. 85; in the dedication to ALL FOOLS, and in note 10 on trans. of Musæus, etc.

7. *Windpipe.* Occurs in BUSSY D'AMBOIS, III. ii. 238.

8. *Tract.* See above, p. 124. The word occurs often in Chapman: HYMN TO HERMES, twice; PENITENTIAL PSALMS, i. 2; iv. 5; etc.

9. *Tendance* = attendance. I have not noted this in Chapman, but he has the contractions 'tend for attend¹ (BLIND BEGGAR, line 2 from end) and 'tending for attending (7th Odyssey, 414), as well as "attendance," which he uses a dozen times in this sense.

¹ This also occurs in Shakespeare, Sonnets 53 and 57,

10. *Sphere*. “This sphere” in TIMON compares with :

I living and enjoying the light shot through this flowery sphere.
1st *Iliad*, 84.

All earth's grassy sphere.

7th *Iliad*, 370.

The sphere of earth.

Cæsar and Pompey, II. i. 41.

And see above, under *Beneath*.

11. *Propagate*. The peculiar use found in TIMON is frequent in Chapman :

Employ'd it
To *propagate* his empire.

Byron's Tragedy, IV. iii. 146.

That more their palates and their purses prize
Than *propagating* Persean victories.

Andromeda Liberata : Apodosis.

Their eternity *propagated* by love of all virtue and integrity.

Ep. Ded. to Bacon, with trans. of *Hesiod*.

For I
Will *propagate* mine own precedency.

Trans. of *Hom. Hymn to Apollo*.

To try, if we
Alone may *propagate* to victory
Our bold encounters of them all.

16th *Odyssey*, 81.

Her most lawfully sought *propagation*, both of blood and blessing.
Pref. to *Justification of Perseus and Andromeda*.

Our plot . . .
For *propagation* of the Catholic cause.

Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, V. i. 60.

In BYRON'S TRAGEDY, I. ii. 3, we have the phrase “to advance our *states*,” with the exact meaning of “propagate their *states*” in TIMON.

¹ “This enflowèd globe.”—8th *Iliad*, 2.

“The earth's globe.”—*Byron's Tragedy*, V. ii. 246.

12. *Personate*. The use of the word in TIMON is peculiar. In Chapman I find it in the sense of our *personify* :

And why may not our Homer as well *personate* Sleep and Death, as all men beside *personate* Love, Anger, Sloth, etc.

Com. on 16th Iliad, end.

Again, he has the word with the meaning *represent* :

He that cannot *personate* the wise-man well amongst wizards, let him learn to play the fool amongst wizards.

Mask of the Middle Temple : ed. Shepherd, p. 347a.

13. *Scope*. The use of this word in the common Elizabethan sense of *aim* or *end* (frequent in Spenser) occurs often in Chapman :

For our ships know th' expressed minds of men
And will so most intently retain
Their *scopes* appointed, that they never err.

8th Odyssey, 773.

My *scope* (= object, or aim)
To note then each man's spirit.

11th Odyssey, 708.

To the flood maintaining still the *scope*
Of his attraction.

21st Iliad, 537.

He better skill'd, that rules worse horse, will all observance bend
Right on the *scope* still of a race.

23rd Iliad, 301.

All rankt, Achilles show'd
The *race-scope*.

Id. 655.

Is set next morn
In full *scope* [= at the point] of his wisht return.

Arg. to 13th Odyssey, l. 4.

The return of a man into his country is his [Homer's] whole *scope*
and *object*.

Ep. Ded. to tr. of Odyssey.

His blows directed to no certain *scope*.

Byron's Conspiracy, III. ii. 99.

14. *Unclew*. This may perhaps be a misprint for *unglew*. Chapman has *glewed* in the 18th Iliad, 540. But *clew* in ALL'S WELL, I. iii. 188, connects with another Chapman problem; and see “unwind” in the TWO GENTLEMEN, III. ii. 51.

15. *Deprave* = calumniate (a common Tudor use) is one of Chapman's common words:

Herodotus is unjustly said to praise only the Athenians, that all Grecians else he might the more freely *deprave*.

Pref. to *Justification of Perseus and Andromeda*.

Depraving every exemplary merit.

Invective against Jonson.

A bold and glorious license to *deprave*.

Bussy D'Ambois, III. ii. 116.

He does not live. . . .

That will *deprave* your virtues.

8th Odyssey, 334.

Doth *deprave* thy noblesse in mine ears.

6th Iliad, 564.

Even such a man as Homer wanted not his malicious *depravers*.

Ep. Ded. to trans. of *Achilles' Shield*.

Homer . . . an host of men against any *depraver* of any principle he held.

Id. ib.

The worst *depraving* the better.

Ep. Ded. to trans. of *Hesiod's Georgics*.

Depraving justice.

Trans. of *Hesiod*, i.

Not scorning virtue, not *depraving* her.

A Great Man.

16. *Able*. The phrase “able horses” in TIMON is noticeably in Chapman's manner. *Able* is one of his tic-words:

An able ploughman.

Note to *Georgics of Hesiod*.

His able shoulders.

Hom. Hymn to Apollo.

Nothing inferior prove in force to him
But past him spring as far in able limb
As he past Saturn.

Id.

From the last night's black depth I call'd up one
Of the inferior ablest ministers [*i.e.* fiends].

Bussy D'Ambois, IV. ii. 78.

And cast out able flashes from mine eyes.

Byron's Conspiracy, II. i. 116.

And th' able cities, too, to strengthen it,
Of Macedon and Thessaly.

Cæsar and Pompey, II. iii. 17.

I slew in them twice fifteen hundred thousand,
All able soldiers.

Id. I. ii. 111.

I had able means,
And spent all.

Id. II. i. 11.

His best and ablest soldiers.

Id. II. iv. 24.

Able, nimble, perfect.

Id. IV. i. 24.

And you, the ablest fautor of her safety.

Id. II. iv. 109.

As many more instances can easily be given from the translation of Homer:

In his silver hilt he held his able hand.

1st Iliad, 219.

Suppose me ablest of you all, 'tis hard for me alone
To ruin such a wall as this.

12th Iliad, 401.

With ease stirred up the able troops.

13th Iliad, 84.

Twice five and twenty sail he brought, twice five and twenty strong
Of able men.

16th *Iliad*, 157.

The Greeks past measure were
The abler soldiers.

Id. 713.

This Xanthus spake, Ablest Achilles. . . .

19th *Iliad*, 393.

And gave him *horse*
Ablest in strength and of the speediest course.

3rd *Odyssey*, 504.

Thy able limbs.

12th *Odyssey*, 412.

An able young man.

Id. 134.

To prosecute with ignominies one
That sways our ablest and most ancient throne.

13th *Odyssey*, 212.

Two men, 'gainst th' able faction of a throng.

16th *Odyssey*, 322.

17. *Ceased.* The transitive use of this verb (“Put a stop to” as distinct from the meaning “cease from”) is rather frequent in Chapman, though he has the other also :

To cease their grudges.

Byron's Tragedy, V. i. 137.

Is it then your wills
That Pompey shall cease arms? . . .
Shall Cæsar cease his arms?

Cæsar and Pompey, I. ii. 198-9.

Revered Minerva, break the lance of Diomed, cease his grace.

6th *Iliad*, 318.

If ever she had quieted his exclaim,
He would cease hers.

22nd *Iliad*, 71.

And by the gods commends
The holy hecatomb, to cease the plague he doth extend.

1st *Iliad*, first version.

The discords . . . it for the time would cease.

Hero and Leander, iv. 162.

I believe that none
Of all the Greeks 'will cease th' ambition
Of such a match.

2nd Odyssey, 801.

18. *Fracted*. Not noted in Chapman; but as he has the forms:

Infract: 1st *Iliad*, 419; 9th *Iliad*, 31 .

Prefract: "Prefract and insolent."

Byron's Tragedy, IV. ii. 22.

Refract: "Things as well refract as voluntary."

Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, IV. i. 147.

and *fractions* (see below), the word is likely enough to be his. It is noteworthy that this and some other unusual words in *TIMON* occur in *HENRY V*.

19. *Dialogue* (verb). Has been seen to be Chapman's word in the *COMPLAINT*.

20. *Detention*. Occurs in 15th *Odyssey*, 90.

21. *Unaptness*. This I have not noted in his signed work, but he has *aptness* (*BYRON'S CONSPIRACY*, I. i. 96, ii. line 6 from end, and elsewhere). The latter word, be it remembered, occurs in the *COMPLAINT*, l. 306. In Shakespeare it occurs only in *CORIOLANUS* and *CYMBELINE*.

22. *Corporate*. Chapman has *incorporate* (*WIDOW'S TEARS*, IV. ii. 132), also *corporeal*, *incorporal*, etc.

23. *Fractions*. Occurs in the Epistle Dedicatory to the Earl Marshal with *ACHILLES' SHIELD*. Shepherd's rep. of Homer, p. 11:

"Who must not be read for a few lines with leaves turned over capriciously in dismember'd fractions, but throughout."

24. *Ingeniously* = ingenuously? By retaining the reading in the text, the Cambridge editors indicate the belief that the word was so written, though it cannot carry the current

sense. The fact is that the Elizabethans, and Chapman in particular, used the two words *ingenious* and *ingenuous* with no clear discrimination, both having at times, beside the subsisting meanings, that of *innate*, or gifted, or even well-born. The word before us points specially to Chapman, who sometimes uses it with the apparent sense of *strikingly*:—

The very beginning of his insultation . . . and the simply uttered upbraids of the Trojans . . . confirming it most *ingeniously*.

Comm. to 18th Iliad, note 4.

In the same note we have an approximation to the modern meaning :

See . . . how *ingeniously* Homer giveth him still some colour of reason for his senselessness.

Elsewhere he uses it exactly as we do *ingenuously* :

But deals this man *ingeniously*, to tax
Men with a frailty that the gods inflict?

Cæsar and Pompey, I. ii. 258.

Professor Parrott here gives the reading *ingenuously* (as he later amends *ingenious* into *ingenuous*), without making a note on the passage. That Chapman wrote it as it stands in Shepherd's edition is made probable by such uses of *ingenious* as these :

For love is free, and his impulsions still
Spring from his own free and *ingenious* will.

Andromeda Liberata.

Valiant and mild, and most *ingenious*.

Sonnet to Sir T. Howard, at the end of *Iliad*.

My own earnest and *ingenious* love of him [Homer].

Much other most *ingenious* and utterly undeserved desert.

Pref. to Reader, with *Iliads*.

Again, in the Epistle Dedicatory of CÆSAR AND POMPEY we have :

Ingeniously my gratitude confesseth,¹ my lord,

where the spelling is presumably Chapman's. In one of his notes to Hesiod (B. i. l. 10 from end) we have :

He says one only son preserves his father's house, and adds most *ingeniously*, *φιρβειν*, i.e. *pascendo, seu nutriendo*. . . .

In several of these cases the meaning is "inspiredly," "with genius," "justly." Compare :

Plutus (or Riches) being by Aristophanes, Lucian, etc., presented naturally blind, deformed, and dull-witted, is here, by his love of honour, made see, made sightly, made *ingenious*, made liberal.

Argument of the *Mask of Middle Temple*.

For these *ingenious* and first sort of men
That do immediately from Jove retain
Their singing raptures, are by Jove as well
Inspired with choice of what their songs impel.

1st *Odyssey*, 531.

Still the word in TIMON might as well have been written *ingenuously*. Compare :

And judge him by no more than what you know
Ingenuously, and by the right laid line
Of truth.

Admiral of France, I. i. 78 (a Chapman part).

For his various uses of *ingenious* and *ingenuous* see the Poems, ed. Shepherd, pp. 151, 189, 200, 203, 227, 252, 282, 287, 289, 290, 293, 297, 300, 326, 327, etc.

25. *Ewer*. Occurs in ODYSSEY, i. 222, vii. 243, xv. 175; and in BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, V. ii. 182.

26. *Recoverable*. I have not noted this word in Chapman : but he has *unrecoverable* in ALL FOOLS, I. i. 308, and in BYRON'S TRAGEDY, IV. i. 112.

¹ Compare : "Most ingeniously affirming," in the *Mask of the Middle Temple*.

27. *Retentive*. Chapman has :

What words, said she, fly thy retentive powers?
19th *Odyssey*, 675.

I have within this isle been held for wind
A wondrous time, and can by no means find
An end to my retention.
4th *Odyssey*, 625.

28. *Outsides*. This appears to be a once-used plural made by Chapman, like *outwards* in the COMPLAINT. In that connection we noted his use of *out-parts*.

29. *Usuring*. Occurs in ALL FOOLS, V. i. 31; and in HERO AND LEANDER, vi. 266. *Usurous* in BATTLE OF THE FROGS AND MICE: Poems, p. 275b.

30. *Oblique*. Occurs in MONSIEUR D'OLIVE, I. i. 122; in THE SHADOW OF NIGHT, st. 22; and in pref. to ANDROMEDA. *Obliquely* in Ep. Ded. to ODYSSEYS.

31. *Gouty*. One of the words of the COMPLAINT. Occurs in the poem “To Young Imaginaries in Knowledge” (Poems, p. 159a).

32. *Embalms*. Occurs in OVID'S BANQUET, st. 32, 17th Iliad, 616 (“Balm” (vb.), “balm'd,” “balming” and “balmings” elsewhere).

33. *Spices* (verb). Chapman has :

Will spice thy bread with flowery poisons.
10th *Odyssey*, 225.

Never spice it more
With forced terms of your love.
Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, III. ii. 233.

I fear me we shall find it spiced too hotly
With the old powder.
Byron's Tragedy, V. ii. 7.

Not by myself to be revoked, nor spiced with any guile.
First version of 1st *Iliad*.

Spiced-conscienced men.
Andromeda: Poems, p. 187b.

34. *Penurious*. Occurs in MONSIEUR D'OLIVE, I. near end; but with the modern force. That found in TIMON (*impecunious*) occurs in Spenser (F.Q., V. v. 46). This seems to be the normal Elizabethan use, and occurs in Jonson. Chapman has *penury* with the corresponding force (scarcity) in trans. of Hom. Hymn to Apollo, and with the force of *miserliness* in the 15th Odyssey, 722.

35. *Exhaust* (= draw out). A common word in Chapman:

I am not yet resolv'd
T' exhaust this troubled spring of vanities
And nurse of perturbations, my poor life.

Sir Giles Goosecap, I. iv. 2.

That with the high thirst of our soul's clear fire
Exhausts corporeal humour.

The Gentleman Usher, V. ii. 12.

When the wound was quite exhaust and crude.

11th *Iliad*, 230.

Her store
Is now from every house exhaust.

18th *Iliad*, 257.

Food devour'd
Idly and rudely, wine exhaust, and pour'd
Through throats profane.

16th *Odyssey*, 146.

Her [the ship's] pump exhausted.

Georgics of Hesiod, ii.

All our seas being exhausted.

Trans. of 5th *Satire of Juvenal*: Shepherd, p. 265a.

36. *Vestments*. Occurs in HYMN TO CHRIST, I. 36.

37. *Mountant*. Not in Chapman's signed work; but the preceding phrase, "hold up your aprons," occurs in MAY-DAY, II. i. 3rd speech. *Mountant*, then, is presumably his. It was a term in heraldry. Compare *montant* in the MERRY WIVES, II. iii. 27.

38. *Flamen*. In CÆSAR AND POMPEY (II. i. 101-2) we have "arch-flamen" twice.

39. *Erection*. Chapman has :

A spirit of my erection.

The Widow's Tears, I. iii. 12.

Erection in such godlike excellence.

Hymnus in Noctem, st. 8.

40. *Grave* (verb). Another old word, found in Chaucer. Chapman has :

Lastly, they grave the dead.

Argument to 7th Iliad.

The throats of dogs shall grave
His manless limbs.

15th Iliad, 317.

It is noteworthy that in the N.E.D. this last instance and that in TIMON are given as jointly constituting a special use of the word.

41. *Unmeasurable*. Occurs in Epist. Ded. to ACHILLES' SHIELD, 1st sentence, and in 19th Iliad, xix. 54. Chapman has *unmeasur'd* many times; and *unmeasurably* in THE WIDOW'S TEARS, IV. i. 112.

42. *Marbled*. The verb occurs in HYMNUS IN NOCTEM, § 20, last line :

And shameless day doth marble us in ill.

Chapman frequently applies the epithet "marble" to the sea—*e.g.* : "Neptune's marble rampire," PRO VERE AUTUMNI LACHRYMÆ; "Ocean's marble face," ACHILLES' SHIELD; "The marble seas," ANDROMEDA LIBERATA (Poems, p. 185*b*); "His [the sea's] marble saves Our State," Sonnet III; "The marble sea," 14th Iliad, 229. Compare with "marbled mansion" as applied to the sky.

43. *Liquorish*. Occurs in various spellings several times in Chapman :

These liquorish lips.

May-Day, IV. ii. 159.

His liquorish¹ chaps are walking by this time.

Monsieur D'Olive, V. i. 133.

Thy greedy liquorous appetite.

Trans. of *5th Sat. of Juvenal*: Poems, p. 266b.

Your liquorous palate.

The Widow's Tears, V. ii.

The licorous haste of these game-greedy hounds.

Hymnus in Cynthiam, st. 11, last line.

Licorously occurs in HERO AND LEANDER, vi. 174.

44. *Unctuous*. Occurs in 21st *Odyssey*, 254.

45. *Wreakful*. Frequent in Chapman: 1st *Odyssey*, 396; *ACHILLES' SHIELD*, 1st version, l. 3 from end; *BATTLE OF FROGS AND MICE*, p. 273; 3rd *Odyssey*, 263; 19th *Odyssey*, 669; 20th *Odyssey*, 58; 11th *Iliad*, 133; 18th *Iliad*, 134; *Hom. Hymn to Venus*, near end; note on 20th *Odyssey*, 191, etc.

46. *Castigate*. I have not noted the verb, but Chapman several times has *castigation* and *castigations*: *ALL FOOLS*, I. i.; *Comm. on 1st Iliad*, twice; *Comm. on 16th Iliad*; *Epist. Ded. to the Earl Marshal with ACHILLES' SHIELD* (Shepherd, p. 13). Also *castigatory*: *Pref. "To the Understander"* (p. 14).

47. *Confectionary*. Chapman has *confect*, 11th *Iliad*, 556, and *confection*, *Epist. Ded. to OVID'S BANQUET*.

48. *Remotion* (= removedness, also removal). Chapman has:

Set in absolute remotion.

Hymnus in Cynthiam.

To put them still
In motion and remotion.

Cæsar and Pompey, II. iv. 29.

All my tents
Took down for swift remotion to Scotussa

Id. III. ii. 41.

¹ Spelt *liquorice* in Shepherd's ed. But the use is adjectival.

49. *Mast*. Chapman has "Oak mast and beech": 10th Odyssey, 328.

50. *Antidote*. Occurs in 10th Odyssey, 404; GENTLEMAN USHER, V. ii. 60.

51. *Softness*. Frequent in Chapman: HYMNUS IN CYNTHIAM: Poems, p. 16*b*; OVID'S BANQUET, st. 104; COMM. on 13th Iliad, l. 556; Epist. Ded. to ACHILLES' SHIELD, and elsewhere. I have noted ten instances.

52. *Render* (noun). Chapman has *rendry* in 21st Odyssey, 26.

53. *Approaches* (noun, plural). Frequent in Chapman: Trans. of Musæus (Poems, p. 97*a*); Epist. Ded. to JUSTIFICATION OF A STRANGE ACTION OF NERO; TEARS OF PEACE (Poems, p. 123*a*); 20th Odyssey, 400.

54. *Contumelious*. Occurs in fourth line of Argument to 1st Iliad; also in Hom. Hymn to Apollo (Poems, p. 283*b*). *Contumeliously* occurs in 1st Odyssey, 353.

55. *Bluster*. As before noted, Chapman has *blusters*, *blustering*, and *blustered*; and in the COMPLAINT he has *blusterer*.

56. *Traversed* ("traversed arms"). This is usually understood as meaning *folded* arms, implying dejection; but the suggestion of Crosby that it means "with weapons reversed" is more reasonable. "Carried across the body" may be the idea. And this meaning is partly conveyed by Chapman's lines:

Proportion still must *traverse*¹ her access

Betwixt his power and will, his sense and soul.²

Tears of Peace: Shepherd, p. 122*b*.

In the MERRY WIVES (II. iii. 25) *traverse* seems to mean *parry*; and in AS YOU LIKE IT (III. iv. 45) it suggests a similar force.

57. *Rampir'd*. Occurs in 15th Iliad, 679; and 11th

¹ Compare "traverse their force" in 12th Iliad, 149.

Odyssey, 257. The noun is found scores of times in Chapman.

58. *Regular* is common in Chapman: 1st Odyssey, 360; 8th Odyssey, 225; 10th Odyssey, 252; Epist. Ded. to Prince Henry; CÆSAR AND POMPEY, IV. iii. 43; EUGENIA: Poems, p. 339*b*; TEARS OF PEACE, p. 115*b*, etc.

It will be observed that a number of the words matched, and equally a number of those not matched, are not singly of much importance. They might have been used or invented by either writer. But at least such words as *untirable*, *glass-faced*, *steepy*, *unpeaceable*, *caked*, *respectively*, *repugnancy*,¹ *dividant*, *fang*, *wappened*, *trenchant*, *turncoats*, *ensear*, *conceptionous*, *carper*, *to hinge*, *composture*, *exceptless*, *opulency*, *patchery*, *whittle*, *fragile*, *decimation*, *insculpture*, are all likely enough to have been used by Chapman. It is very likely that he has used some of them, and that I have overlooked them. He who used the adjectives *hospitious*, *dissentious*, and *treasurous* was likely to coin *conceptionous*; *patchery* is much in his way, as he has *filcheries*; and *beggery*, *drudgery*, *roguery* in one page; and frequently *thievery* (a TIMON word). As he has often *enforce*, *enforced* (participle), and uses *enforcive*, he is likely enough to have written *enforcedly*. He who coined *unpacified* (18th Iliad, 299; 2nd Odyssey, 27) is likely to have written *unpeaceable*. As a great verb-maker he would find it natural enough to coin such verbs as *property* and *period*: the latter word he uses as a noun a score of times. It will be somewhat surprising, indeed, if he used *fragile* and *sacrificial* in this play and nowhere else. *Fragile* occurs five times in one passage of six lines in Bacon (*Nat. Hist.*, § 841). *Sacrificial*, again, was a new word in the period, coming in from the French. In Chapman I find only *sacrificing*, with the force of *sacrificial*. But the scene in which the

¹ This form was current; and Chapman uses the forms *impudency*, *incessancy*, etc.

latter word occurs in TIMON is on a multitude of grounds assignable to Chapman; and such a neologist was likely enough to have tried it.¹

On the other hand, there seems to me to be special evidential force in the use of words to which Chapman sometimes or often gives a force not given to them by Shakespeare—as *presentment*, *propagate*, *scope*, *cease*, *ingeniously*, *exhaust*, *grave* (verb); and equally in the occurrence of words special to him, as *confluence*, *contumelious*, *wreakful*, *rampir'd*, and the verb *dialogue*. Over such words as *spilth*, of which the first recorded example is in TIMON, *apperil*, *dich*, *solidares*, *oathable*, and some others, there must be doubt. *Oathable* suggests his *trustible* (SIR GILES GOOSECAP, I. ii. 4). *Apperil*, which occurs three times in Ben Jonson, is the strongest ground I have seen for raising the question of *his* presence. But I cannot trace his style, and unless that can be done we are barred from the inference by the fact that he and Chapman shared their vocabulary to a remarkable degree. They must have followed each other's work habitually. In fine, the number of words actually traced to Chapman seems great enough to clinch the hypothesis that he had a main hand in the play. To these might be added a number common to him and Shakespeare, which are here used in a way characteristic of Chapman, as *hug*, *engluttet*, *conjured*, *rapt*, *austere*, *satiety*, *precedent*, *pomp*, *gratulate*, *importune*, *preferr'd* (= put forward, presented), *stuck*, *spangled*, *sufferance*, *excrement*, *fiction*, *heaps*, etc. The line (V. i. 177) :

Contumelious, beastly, mad-brain'd war,

contains three adjectives all traceable to Chapman, one of them not found outside TIMON in the Shakespeare plays. The phrase (III. vi. 101) “*stuck and spangled with your flatteries*,” again, savours particularly of Chapman, and is

¹ A tendency to disparage French, seen in his discussions on Homer, might make him desist from such words, after one use.

duplicated in meaning, as we have seen, in one of his plays. Add that the inversions, such as :

Drive back
Of Alcibiades the approaches wild,

and

I have upon a high and pleasant hill
Feign'd Fortune to be thron'd,

are distinctly Chapman-like, and the general case is broadly indicated. If a dozen of the words which I have not traced to Chapman should be found in his large body of work, the evidence, I suppose, would be generally allowed to be nearly irresistible, so far as vocabulary can carry us.

§ 4. INFERENCES

To begin with, the evidence from vocabulary gives notable support to that offered by style and phrase for Chapman's authorship of the opening scene of *TIMON*. And this carries us a long way. Dr. Wright assigns the whole scene to Shakespeare, outgoing Fleay and the critics who follow him, all of whom make exceptions of a number of lines. As Shakespeare undoubtedly worked over the fourth and fifth Acts, he may well have worked over the others; but I confess I can see no very clear sign of him in the first, though I do in the second. At most, the first suggests retrenchment by him in revision, with a possibility of some insertion of phrase. Dr. Wright, it will be remembered, admitted that the opening scene of the play *could* conceivably be written by Chapman or another: how then, in the face of all the many marks of Chapman's hand, is it to be denied him?

If we apply metrical tests, the presumption is overwhelmingly against Shakespeare's authorship. In the dating of the play in respect of its percentage of double-endings, the customary oversight has been made of counting it as a whole, in disregard of the marked differences between parts. Just as the *COMEDY OF ERRORS* is counted without regard to the remarkable difference between the first and second scenes, so the admittedly composite *TIMON* is counted continuously, and is reckoned a late Shakespeare play because of its high total percentage of double-endings. But if we take two of the longer speeches which are admitted by all to be Shakespearean, those of Act IV,

Scene i, and Scene iii, 176-96, we find low percentages—10 per cent. in the first case, and 15 (three in twenty lines), if we count “heaven,” in the second. In the first 190 lines of the opening scene, on the other hand, counting trebles and further extras, we have some 57 double-endings, or 30 per cent. *This* fact, taken with the others, is surely decisive. Chapman reached a high proportion of double-endings long before Shakespeare did, and finally exceeded him greatly. He was capable of a succession of nine, all end-stopped.

If we look to the proportion found in the obviously Shakespearean speeches, we are led to date the play earlier than it has usually been placed. It seems to me to belong, as regards the Shakespeare speeches, to the period of *TROILUS*, *HAMLET*, and *MACBETH*—perhaps rather before than after these plays. But this is a secondary matter; and two speeches form a quite insufficient basis for a metrical estimate.

The essential point is that the high proportion of double-endings in the opening scene is to be set down to Chapman. Dr. Wright, I presume, will agree to assign to him the scene of Alcibiades and the Senate, which he pronounces non-Shakespearean,¹ and which is so entirely in a Chapman strain. As he decides, further, that the “other writer” enters at line 47 of Act II, Scene ii, he will perhaps agree to assign that to Chapman on the primary clue of the verb “to dialogue,” above discussed. But a difficulty arises for him in respect of the opening lines of II. ii. which he seems to ignore in his description, dwelling on the dunning matter as Shakespeare’s, but saying nothing of the opening speech of Flavius. Now, these lines are hardly Shakespearean; but they must be so assigned if the dunning matter is. My own surmise is that Scene i is Chapman matter revised by Shakespeare: the “able horses” is a Chapman phrase, and the elision is like him.

¹ Professor Boas and Mr. Deighton dissent.

But I cannot see that Scene ii is necessarily even a revision: the earlier part as well as that condemned could perfectly pass for Chapman's in a play assigned to him and any collaborator. Revision, doubtless, is resumed at line 133; and we have seen reason to assign the "thousand talents" to Shakespeare. But I find mixed work through Act III down to Scene iv, which is wholly Chapman's (Dr. Wright rejects it); as is Scene iv, and, I think, Scene vi.

In Act IV, where we find Shakespeare's hand at the outset, and frequently recurring, we find the "fierce wretchedness" speech assigned to the "other writer," and this seems clearly to be Chapman's. As for the third scene, I am unable to resist the evidence of Chapman's drafting that I find in style, diction, theme, and vocabulary. Had the opening speech been found in a play ascribed to Chapman and any of his avowed collaborators, it would be assigned to him without hesitation. The versification has his irregularity.

Rotten humidity: below thy sister's orb . . .

Scarce is dividant, touch them with several fortunes;

The greater scorns the lesser: not nature . . .

I am no idle votarist: roots, you clear heavens . . .

Wrong right, base noble, old young, coward valiant . . .

With senators on the bench: this is it.

And there are three fragmentary lines in thirty-three, so that, on Dr. Wright's principles, the scene should be suspect. Shakespeare may have touched it, however. The old word "rother," meaning a horned beast, occurs nowhere in Chapman's signed work; and though Shakespeare is little given to the use of such vernacular words, as Dr. Henry Bradley points out, whereas Chapman is, the fact that there was a "rother market" at Stratford-on-Avon suggests that the word here may be his. On the other hand, the passage

composes ill with the context; and the "who dares, who dares," like the subsequent line:

Ha, you gods! Why this? What this, you gods? Why this?

does not suggest Shakespeare.¹ The noun *semblable* does suggest him, as it occurs in HAMLET; and I have not observed it in Chapman; but *gouty*, which is found only in TIMON and TROILUS among the plays, occurs in the COMPLAINT, and thus points to Chapman, who elsewhere has both *gouty* and *gout-wit-lamed* — a literal and a metaphorical use. Yet again, the line:

The senator shall bear contempt hereditary,

recalls one in Byron's CONSPIRACY, II. i.:

Which is in you more than hereditary.

The dialogue between Timon and Alcibiades does not seem to me Shakespearean. Shakespeare's revision, I think, is resumed at line 108; but "high-vic'd city" is very like Chapman; the "hanging" plague, as Steevens noted, occurs in his sixth Iliad; and the special use of "exhaust," and his word "vestments," found only in this play, point to a draft revised. It is agreed that lines 176-96 are in Shakespeare's verse; but there too, as we saw, the vocabulary tells of Chapman. Shakespeare doubtless wrote the lines:

Will these moss'd trees
That have outlived the eagle, page thy heels,
And skip where thou point'st out? Will the cold brook
Candied with ice, caudle thy morning taste
To cure thy o'er night's surfeit;

but they hardly fit Apemantus, or cohere with the rest of the dialogue; and the next long speech of Apemantus (239-48), like the snapping dialogue which precedes it,

¹ Though he has similarly ejaculatory lines in *As You Like It*, II. vii. 83, and elsewhere.

appears to be Chapman's. The prose dialogue, we have seen, is rejected by Dr. Wright, and may be assigned to Chapman, whose word “remotion” is found in it; and in the scene with the banditti we seem, in my judgment, to have Chapman matter, with only a verse revision by Shakespeare. Dr. Wright, who finds the bulk of the banditti scene “self-evidently Shakespeare's,” does not deal with the old item, noted by Farmer, that lines 438-45 are obviously borrowed from an ode of Ronsard, which in turn is a rendering of one by Anacreon. If it be asked whether Shakespeare or Chapman was the likelier to have read that ode, there can be but one answer; though Shakespeare might have seen the old version by Southern. In any case, the versification here is Shakespeare's; and we can but surmise a Chapman draft. Thereafter, Dr. Wright rejects the speech of the steward (464-78) beginning :

O you gods!
Is yon despised and ruinous man my lord?

and this he will presumably agree to assign to Chapman, who in a signed poem has the very collocation “ruinous man” (TEARS OF PEACE: Invocatio), and very often employs the term “ruinous.” But when Dr. Wright claims that the moment the steward speaks to Timon “the style leaps into poetry,” and that it lasts to line 508, I am moved to demur. The verse remains very irregular, and such lines as :

Ne'er did poor steward *wear* a truer grief
For his undone lord than mine *eyes* for you,

are not noticeably above the level of the preceding soliloquy. Elsewhere Dr. Wright indicates the rhymed work as in the main non-Shakespearean. But this dialogue has these :

Pity's sleeping.
Strange times that weep with laughing, not with weeping!

which are hardly good enough for Shakespeare, and happen to be very much in the way of Chapman. Compare :

Perhaps I'll weep
Or so make a forced face and laugh again.
The Widow's Tears, V. iii. 103-4.

Rest in Torment's arms I sought,
All good talk'd but all ill thought,
Laugh'd at what deserved my weeping.
Penitential Psalms, i. 4.

When I find in the same passage the word "exceptless," and the double epithet "perpetual-sober" applied to the gods, I am still more moved to assign it to Chapman, who made the word "expectless," and who has literally hundreds of coupled epithets. In Timon's speech of twelve lines, accepted by Dr. Wright, there are three short. In the following lines, which he rejects, occurs this :

If not a usuring kindness, and, as rich men deal gifts,

which may the more readily be assigned to Chapman because it contains his word "usuring." But in the previous dialogue we had the clauses :

Flav. An honest poor servant of yours.

Tim. Then I know thee not ;

which neither singly nor together make tolerable verse ; and in Timon's speech beginning at line 530, which Dr. Wright assigns to Shakespeare, we have these :

Give to dogs
What thou deny'st to men : let prison swallow 'em,
Debts wither 'em to nothing ; *be men like blasted woods,*
And may diseases lick up their false bloods !
And so fare well and thrive—

where the forcible-feeble verse jolts badly, and the "blasted woods," "false bloods," and "thrive" are all very Chap-

manesque. In all this dialogue I can see no reason for picking out any portions as Shakespearean. Fleay rejected everything from the end of the verse part of the banditti scene, which he assigned to Shakespeare; and the verse there does indeed tell of revision. Dr. Wright, as we have seen, gives snatches of the steward scene to the greater poet, but solely on æsthetic grounds, which must be pronounced arbitrary. Mr. Deighton is willing to assign the whole steward scene to Shakespeare, though he suspects it of being “garbled.” If the student will re-read the whole in the light of the hypothesis that Chapman is the draftsman, I think that hypothesis will be found to clear up the whole problem of the play.

Save in the speeches where Shakespeare’s verse lifts everything into a higher harmony, the manner seems to me to be undoubtedly Chapman’s. Such verse as this (IV. iii.):

If thou didst put this sour-cold habit on
To castigate thy pride, ’twere well; but thou
Dost it enforcedly, thou’dst courtier be again
Wert thou not beggar. Willing misery
Outlives uncertain pomp, is crown’d before:
The one is filling still, never complete;
The other, at high wish; best state, contentless,
Hath a distracted and most wretched being,
Worse than the worst, content.
Thou should’st desire to die, being miserable—

were it found in a Chapman play, would seem fairly homogeneous with the rest, in respect alike of the versification and the obscurity of the diction. When Dr. Wright notes as marks of the non-Shakespearean hand in the play the frequent reversion to rhyme and the habit of changing from verse to prose, we are apprised of two outstanding peculiarities of Chapman’s work, the latter belonging particularly to his comedies, the former to his tragedies. And as both of these marks meet us in Act V of TIMON, it is difficult to see, in view of the evidence from style and

vocabulary, how the general draft of that Act can be denied him. As soon as the verse begins, we have couplets, three in fourteen lines; and of the remaining eight lines these are five:

Nay, let's seek him.
 True.
 Come.
 Than where swine feed.
 Fit I meet them.

Upon Dr. Wright's principles, such work is not properly assignable to Shakespeare. In the Poet's speech to Timon, again, we have in ten lines these three:

Sir. . . .
 What! to you . . .
 With any size of words . . .

and this:

To their whole being! I am rapt and cannot cover

—irregularities enough, apart from the broken syntax, to discredit any speech if irregularities are to be taken as marks of the "other" hand. Noting the "I am rapt" as embodying one of Chapman's tic-words, we should have no difficulty in assigning the whole to him. And so throughout the Act, with the reservations already made for Shakespeare's occasional transfiguring intervention. It is in fact the admittedly Shakespearean touches and speeches that alone make *TIMON* a memorable play. Ill-motivated, ill-plotted, ill-constructed, it is not such a drama as Shakespeare could have schemed in his maturity. Considered as an imperfect revision by him of one imperfectly drafted by Chapman, to whom the theme would specially appeal, it becomes newly and completely intelligible.

The main ground on which the hypothesis will be resisted, I surmise, is its unexpectedness. No thought of any degree of collaboration between Shakespeare and

Chapman has ever, so far as I know, been suggested.¹ But as there can be no à priori objection, the hypothesis, I hope, will be considered on its merits. It so far clashes with previous surmise as to show us Shakespeare in a substantially friendly relation with one believed by many of us to have been the "rival poet" of the Sonnets. But such a relation would be Shakespearean enough. And as there are a number of grounds for supposing yet further collaboration or connection between the two dramatists, I propose separately to indicate these, without undertaking such a fully detailed demonstration as I have offered in regard to the COMPLAINT and TIMON. The clues, though noteworthy, are in most cases of narrower application, and I indicate them for what they are worth. It is desirable that the whole problem should be investigated by others; and perhaps it will be found to be worth investigating.

¹ The essay of Friedrich Bodenstedt on "Chapman in seinem Verhältniss zu Shakespeare" in the first volume of the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft* (1865) is simply a study of contrasts. There is no suggestion of collaboration, and no recognition of any Chapman element in *Timon*.

PART IV
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§ 1. "PERICLES"

It will have been observed that, just as certain verbal clues from the COMPLAINT carried us to TIMON, so a number of clues in TIMON point tentatively to other plays, mostly of the group commonly held to be of divided authorship. But apart from TIMON, the COMPLAINT gives clues to one play in particular, the admittedly composite PERICLES. The first is the verb *sistering*, which occurs in one of the Gower Prologues, generally admitted to be non-Shakespearean :

That even her art *sisters* the natural roses.

Prol. to Act V. 7.

The next is the adjective *sleided*, found also in a Gower Prologue, and that with the noun *silk*, as in the COMPLAINT :

Be 't when she weaved the sleided silk.

Prol. to Act IV. 21.

As before, we make nothing of such coincidences unless we find them supported by analogies of style, diction, and theme. But such analogies we do find. The subsequent lines :

Or when she would with sharp needl wound
The cambric, which she made more sound
By hurting it,

recall those in the fourth sestiad of HERO AND LEANDER, in which Hero works with her needle on the scarf :

In her strength of thought
She fear'd she prick'd Leander as she wrought,

and so forth. In these Prologues, too, we have just the kind of verse which constitutes the "arguments" to the sestiams of Hero and Leander and to the books of the Iliad and the Odyssey. *Prima facie*, they could all be Chapman's, with a special touch of archaism added to suit Gower. Similar doggerel verse occurs in THE GENTLEMAN USHER and several other plays.

But this does not take us beyond the Prologues. When we turn to the problem of the authorship of the play, we are met by Fleay's vigorously reasoned thesis that George Wilkins, who published his prose story, THE PAINFUL ADVENTURES OF PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE, in 1608, "undoubtedly wrote the first two acts of the play"; that Shakespeare probably offended Wilkins by substituting the Marina story, which is his share of the play, beginning in Act III; and that a third author wrote the *five-measure* Gower parts and the brothel scenes in Acts IV, V, to lengthen out the play to the legitimate five Acts.¹ This substantially quadrates with the earlier thesis of Sidney Walker, that there are three hands in the play.² In 1874 Fleay held that the third author was "unquestionably W. Rowley." But in his BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE (1891) he says nothing of Rowley, and divides the play solely between Wilkins and Shakespeare. That Shakespeare (save for possible revision) enters at Act III; that he handled the story of Marina; and that he had no part in the brothel scenes, which do not connect with the rest of the story, may be taken as common ground; with the reservation that Shakespeare's work may be a rewriting and not an original draft by him. But for the proposition—first put forward by Delius—that Wilkins wrote the first two Acts, I have never been able to see any evidence beyond the inference drawn by Fleay from Wilkins's claim that the story was "an infant of his brain." This doubtless counts for

¹ Paper on *Pericles* in N.S.S. Transactions, 1874, Part I, p. 198.

² *Id.*, p. 200, note, and p. 253.

something, and Wilkins may have had a first hand in the play.

I do not propose to argue the question here, but will simply indicate some grounds for a hypothesis that Chapman may have either planned or recast the play as well as written the Gower Prologues.

1. The mixing of rhyme with blank verse in the first and second Acts. This is in Chapman's manner.

2. The occurrence of a number of his habitual words, phrases, and ideas, as :

Few love to hear the sins they love to act.

I. i. 92.

[Compare :

Sin is ashamed of sin.

Hero and Leander, iii. 328.]

Among the characteristic expressions are these :

All thy whole heap must die.

I. i. 83.

And with the ostent of war will look so huge.

I. ii. 25.

For flattery is the bellows blows up sin.

I. ii. 89.

[“Heap” and “ostent” are too common in Chapman to need exemplification. For the last-cited line compare :

Bellows to abhorred lust.

22nd Odyssey, 584.

These bellows you wear on your head show with what matter your brain is puffed up.

Mask of the Middle Temple.]

Thou art no flatterer.

I thank thee for it . . .

Fit counsellor and servant for a prince,

Who by thy wisdom mak'st a prince thy servant.

I. ii, 60-4.

[Compare :

That which intercepts that supreme skill
 Which flattery is, is the supremest ill . . .
 So flatterers . . .
 Observe and soothe the wayward moods of kings ;
 So kings, that flatterers love, had need to have
 As nurse-like counsellors.

Epicedium: Poems, p. 168b.

Whose present grace to present slaves and servants
 Translates his rivals.

Timon, I. i. 71-2.]

To keep his bed of blackness *unlaid ope*.

I. ii. 89.

[Compare :

But wash and put *un-tear-stained* garments on.

4th Odyssey, 1003.

Yet were his men *unleft Without* a chief.

2nd Iliad, 622-3.

Undrown'd in misery.

24th Odyssey, 87.]

But in our orbs will live so round and safe.

I. ii. 122.

[Compare :

To make the flame of their delight
 Round as the moon at full.

Hero and Leander, v.

and Chapman's constant metaphorical use of "circular."]

For who digs hills because they do *aspire*.

I. iv. 5.

Like one another's glass to *trim* them by.

I. iv. 26.

The *rapture* of the sea.

II. i. 161.

From the *dejected* state wherein he is.

II. ii. 46,

The words italicized are all common in Chapman; and the following passages contain what we have seen to be a favourite formula with him :

Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan
The *outward* habit by the *inward* man.

II. ii. 56-7.

That neither in our hearts nor *outward* eyes
Envy the great nor do the low despise.

II. iii. 25-6.

Again, Pericles describes himself to the fishermen (II. i. 62-3) as

A man whom both the waters and the wind,
In that vast *tennis-court*, have made the ball
For them to play upon.

Compare :

So Ulysses' fleet
The winds hurl'd up and down; now Boreas
Tost it to Notus, Notus gave it pass
To Eurus, Eurus Zephyr made pursue
The horrid *tennis*.

5th *Odyssey*, 427-31.

The tag about “drones that rob the bee of her honey” is so common in Elizabethan drama that we cannot lay much weight on its occurrence at II. i. 51, as well as in the prologue to the Act; but it should be noted that this tag is frequent in Chapman.

There may be noted further six words which occur only in PERICLES in the Shakespeare plays, and which are found more or less often in Chapman :

1. *Litigious* (III. iii. 3). Several times in Chapman :

Litigious clients.

Introduction to *Odysseys*, near end.

In his declined and litigious state.

Byron's Conspiracy, I. i. 98.

The day when all litigious goods
Are justly sentenced by the people's voices.

Trans. of Hesiod's *Book of Days*, l. 8.

Litigious prose.

Preface to Reader, *Iliad*, near end.

2. *Cope* (IV. vi. 132: "The cheapest country under the cope"). This noun never occurs elsewhere in the Shakespeare plays, but it is common in Chapman in similar phrases:

Ope, Earth, thy womb of gold,
Show, Heaven, thy cope of stars.

Song in *Mask of Middle Temple*.

All this cope beneath the sky.

Epist. Ded. to Prince Henry.

The cope of stars.

Trans. of *Hom. Hymn to Earth*.

The cope of light.

5th Odyssey, 375.

The cope of heaven.

13th Odyssey, 390.

The cope of stars.

20th Odyssey, 181.

Betwixt the cope of stars and earth.

5th Iliad, 773.

3. *Seafarer* (II. i. 41). Occurs twice in the 4th *Odyssey*, 496, 517.

4. *Entranced* (III. ii. 94). Occurs in 24th *Iliad*, 629, and in *EUGENIA: Poems*, p. 328*b*.

5. *Benign* (Gower Prol., II. l. 3). Occurs at least seven times in Chapman.

6. *Chequins* (IV. ii. 28). Occurs twice (*chequeens*) in Chapman, *MAY-DAY*, II. i. 82, 323.

Add that *shipwrack*, which occurs twice in *PERICLES* (II. i. 139, iii. 85), and elsewhere only in *TITUS* and *HENRY VI*; *artist* (II. iii. 15), found elsewhere only in *TROILUS* and

ALL'S WELL; *seaman*, occurring twice in PERICLES (III. i. 8; IV. i. 54), and elsewhere only in KING JOHN and in the VENUS (454); *relapse* (III. ii. 110), found only in HENRY V; and *perpetually* (I. i. 74), found only in the SHREW, ALL'S WELL, and LUCRECE (686), are all Chapman words.

I am content to leave the hypothesis at that, adding that there are some clues to Chapman in the brothel scenes. The *prima facie* theory is that Chapman either sketched or recast the play, with its rambling tales, and that Shakespeare wrought in or wrought over the Marina story, which does not connect with the brothel scenes, rewriting Chapman in part. It may be worth some student's while to work out the problem, for or against the Chapman hypothesis.

It is worth noting in this connection, as was done historically by Professor Ward, and long before, that Ben Jonson in his second ODE TO HIMSELF on the failure of his NEW INN, 1629, writes with notable contempt of PERICLES :

No doubt some mouldy tale
Like *Pericles*, and stale
As the shrieve's crust, and nasty as his fish—
Scraps, out of every dish
Thrown forth, and raked into the common tub—
May keep up the Play-club.
There, sweepings do as well
As the best-ordered meal;
For who the relish of these guests will fit
Needs set them but the alms-basket of wit.

This Ode clearly made a sensation, for it elicited four in reply, three of them—by Randolph, Carew, and Cleveland—sympathetic, and one, by Owen Feltham, acridly hostile, though that too makes small account of PERICLES :

Jug, Pierce, Peck, Fly, and all
Your jests so nominal,
Are things so far beneath an able brain,
As they do throw a stain
Through all th' unlikely plot, and do displease
As deep as *Pericles*.

Now, Chapman's furious *INVECTIVE AGAINST MR. BEN JONSON* had evidently the same occasion. The lines:

If thy petulant will
May fly-blow all men with thy great swan's quill,
 If it can write no plays, *if thy plays fail,*
 All the earnest of our kingdom straight must vail
 To thy wild fury,

point, like the other replies, to the *ODE TO HIMSELF*. Chapman evidently felt a quite personal resentment:

Great, learned, witty Ben, be pleased to light
 The world with that three-forkèd fire, nor fright
 All us, thy sub-learn'd, with luciferous boast. . . .
No humanity
 Of the divine soul shewing man in thee,
 Being all of pride composed and surquedry.

The *INVECTIVE* has been treated by Swinburne and others as an unhappy explosion of old age, calling for no further explanation. Yet an explanation is very much wanted. Chapman and Jonson had been warm friends, writing enthusiastic panegyric verses to each other; and in 1618 Ben told Drummond that he loved Chapman. After that, the *INVECTIVE*, on the face of the case, is a mystery. But if we regard Chapman as having had, long before, a share in *PERICLES*, it becomes completely intelligible; and no other explanation has offered itself. A personal sting there evidently had been; and on our hypothesis the fling at *PERICLES* in the *ODE TO HIMSELF* supplies it very sufficiently. Jonson, for his part, may have known nothing of any connection of Chapman with the play; and no one else, so far as I am aware, has hitherto surmised it. But on the other hand Jonson was likely to have known of Shakespeare's connection with the piece; and in his exasperated mood may have cared nothing as to whom he disparaged. If so, he partly earned the *INVECTIVE*.

§ 2. "TROILUS AND CRESSIDA"

As Chapman's origination of TIMON is worked out by pure induction, we may reasonably try whether there are inductive clues which would connect him with any other of the commonly disputed plays. These are (apart from HENRY VIII and the "Apocrypha") 1, 2, and 3 HENRY VI, TITUS ANDRONICUS, the TAMING OF THE SHREW, RICHARD III, and TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. The last may be taken first, as connecting naturally, in respect of its classic theme, with TIMON and PERICLES.

It has long been held that TROILUS is a composite work. Fleay¹ once surmised an early play *circa* 1594, dealing with the story of Troilus and Cressida alone; but for this there is no evidence beyond inference from the apparently early character of some of the work, as I. i. 92-107; and the prior lines 48-63 cannot be called early. An early play is not unlikely; and note should be taken of Professor Herford's discussion² of Greene's prose sketch of the Troilus story, which suggests the possibility that he may have handled it. But most of Shakespeare's work in the existing play is evidently *circa* 1600; the two long scenes, I. iii. and II. ii. having respectively the proportions of 16 and 21 per cent. of double-endings. Fleay's theory was that Shakespeare first dramatized the story of Troilus and Cressida on the basis of Chaucer's poem; that he then added the story of Hector and Ajax, with the slaying of

¹ *Shakespeare Manual*, ch. ix.

² Paper on "Greene's Romances and Shakespeare," in N.S.S. Transactions, 1888.

Hector by Achilles, on the basis of Caxton's THREE DESTUCTIONS OF TROY; and that finally, after the publication of Chapman's ILIAD (seven books, in 1598) he added the story of Ulysses' stratagem to sting Achilles to action by the magnifying of Ajax, Thersites also being now introduced for the first time. In support of the thesis it is claimed that nowhere does the story of Troilus and Cressida overlap with the others, save in V. ii., where Ulysses enters; and in IV. v. 277-93; V. i. 89-93; V. iv. 10-24; V. v. 1-5; and V. vi. 1-11, in which also Ulysses is involved.

The first difficulty is that, while describing the love-story, dated 1594, as a planned pendant or contrast to that of faithful Juliet, Fleay paralleled the style from the MERCHANT OF VENICE, which in the Manual he dates 1596, with ROMEO AND JULIET; but afterwards, in his Life of Shakespeare, dates 1597; returning to 1596 in his BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE.

But a greater difficulty is raised by the questions (1) whether the supposed early sketch of TROILUS AND CRESSIDA was ever produced as a play at all; and (2) whether with the addition of the Hector-Ajax-Achilles story it was again played. Fleay points out that "the Troilus story ends at Act V. Scene iii.; the Hector story at the end of the present play; while the final additions as to Ajax, Ulysses, etc., are all inserted in the previously existing parts, and do not reach to the end, either as we have it now or as it existed in either of the two earlier stages. Now Shakespeare would not in all probability write even so incomplete a sketch as the Troilus story without contriving an end for it and writing this end." And he claims that the Folio lines (not preserved in the ordinary editions) at the close of V. iii.:

Pan. Why, but hear you?

Troy. Hence, brother lackey, ignomy and shame
Pursue thy life and live aye with thy name

“are evidently meant for the final end of the play, as they occur again just before Pandarus’s final epilogue.” This seems to require that the epilogue also was part of the original conclusion ; but Fleay is doubtful of its authenticity, presumably because of the un-Shakespearean quality which it shares with Scenes vi to ix. And yet, without it, the play would have ended very abruptly indeed—so abruptly, that it is difficult to conceive of its being so planned. The further application of verse-tests, which shows a ratio of 1 rhyme-line to 8·4 in the Troilus story, to 13·6 in the Hector story, and 1 to 54·5 in the Ajax-Ulysses story, is claimed to confirm the theory of the three periods. But in this argument the rhyme-test is credited with a conclusiveness which it does not really possess, the assumption being involved that LOVE’S LABOUR’S LOST is necessarily an earlier play than the TWO GENTLEMEN, whereas its literary quality tells the other way. And if we point the counter-hypothesis that the different parts of the story are merely the work, originally, of different *hands*, the rhyme-test will equally square with *that* theory.

In the absence of any proof that Shakespeare produced any play on TROILUS AND CRESSIDA before 1599 (Meres had no mention of any in 1598), we naturally turn to the datum supplied by Henslowe’s Diary, that a play of this title was written by Dekker and Chettle in 1599. Fleay himself suggests¹ that the spurious part of Act V of our play “is probably débris from Dekker and Chettle’s TROYLUS AND CRESSIDA, written in 1592, and reproduced in a revised form as AGAMEMNON in 1599.” But there is no evidence whatever for the 1592 date, and no probability in it ; and in his BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE Fleay does not repeat this suggestion. Henslowe’s entry tells of a play of TROYLUS AND CRESSIDA and a tragedy of AGAMEMNON, as both on hand in May 1599 ; but the latter play goes forward and the other does not. It has accordingly been assumed, both before and after

¹ *Manual*, p. 325, note.

Fleay, that there was only one play, and that what was begun as TROYLUS AND CRESSIDA was produced as AGAMEMNON. It seems rather more likely that the first play was otherwise disposed of, and that the AGAMEMNON was a distinct tragedy dealing with the death of that personage. The original Troilus theme was, in point of fact, finally unmanageable by itself for dramatic purposes, and what has actually happened is a combination of the Troilus story with a quantity of other matter.

On that view we are led to ask whether the play we possess was not primarily the work of Dekker and Chettle, which may or may not have proceeded on earlier work. That this hypothesis has not been considered appears to be due to the fact that in HISTRIOMASTIX there is a reference to this play which is held to identify it in its first form with Shakespeare.

Troy. Come Cressida, my cresset light
 Thy face doth shine, both day and night.
 Behold, behold thy garter blue
 Thy knight his valiant elbow wears,
 That when he *shakes* his furious *speare*
 The foe, in shivering fearful sort,
 May lay him down in death to snort.

Cres. O knight, with valour in thy face
 Here take my skreene, wear it for grace;
 Within thy helmet put the same
 Therewith to make thy enemies lame.

It is commonly held, with Fleay, that this surely refers to the changing of sleeve and glove in the play, in direct connection with Shakespeare's name.¹ The matter is of no great importance, since HISTRIOMASTIX is commonly dated 1599, and Shakespeare's work in TROYLUS may be dated, as to style, about that time. But I would point out that the oft-quoted "*shake-speare*" line does not neces-

¹ *Manual*, p. 50. The suggestion was made long before Fleay, by the eighteenth-century commentators.

sarily refer to Shakespeare at all. In his later BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE (II. 22) Fleay modifies his early inference and writes that the allusion “cannot, unfortunately, be fully explained, as the Dekker play is not extant; but it probably refers to *something therein anent Shakespeare’s drama* on the subject in its earlier form.” If the line ever had any reference to Shakespeare’s name it was an inane allusion; and Landulpho in the next line is made to call the doggerel “lame stuff indeed, the like was never heard.” But there was probably no name-allusion. The phrase “shake . . . speare” is one of the common alliterations of the period. For instances :

And clash their shields and shake their swords on high.
Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. iv. 40.

And *shivering spear* in bloody field first *shook*.
Id. III. i. 7.

With that they ‘gan their *shivering spears* to *shake*.
Id. IV. ii. 14.

He all enraged his *shivering spear* did *shake*.
Id. IV. iii. 10.

Other alliterations show that the collocation of “spear” and “shake” was fortuitous :

Then, hurling up his harmful blade on high,
Smote him so hugely on his haughty crest.
Id. II. viii. 33.

With that the darts that his right hand did strain
Full dreadfully he shook.
Id. III. xii. 23.

His harmful club began to hurtle high.
Id. II. vii. 42.

The dramatists were doing the same thing long before 1599 :

Our quivering lances shaking in the air.
Marlowe, 1 *Tamb.* II. iii. 18.

With shivering spears enforcing thunderclaps.
Id. ib. III. ii.

Shaking their swords, their *spears*, and iron bills.
Id. IV. i. 25

All brandishing their brands of quenchless fire.
Id. 2 *Tamb.* III. v. 7.

And break their burning lances in the air.
Id. ib. IV. ii. line 3 from end.

That shakes his sword against thy majesty.
Id. ib. V. i.

To toss the spear in battelous array.
Selinus, l. 158.

The shivers fly of many a *shaken spear*.
 Peele, *Polyhymnia* (1590), 11th couple.

With shield and shivering lance.
Id. *Order of the Garter* (1593), l. 40.

And make their spears to shiver in the air.
 Greene, *Alphonsus King of Arragon* (1588?), V. i.

Shake thy *spears* in honour of his name.
 Peele, *Edward I* (printed 1593), Sc. iii. (or II. i.).

Of Fairfax's translation of Tasso's JERUSALEM, published in 1600, the bulk must have been written before that year; and there we find the "shake" tag many times:

That durst not *shake* the *spear*, nor target hold.
 B. III. St. 11.

Mast-great the *spear* was that the gallant bore,
 That in his warlike pride he made to *shake*.
Id. III. 17.

And shak'd for rage their swords and weapons keen.
Id. VI. 20.

These hands were made to *shake* sharp *spears*, and swords.
Id. V. 42.

Above his head he shook his naked blade.

Id. VII. 53.

Their hands shook swords.

Id. XX. 29.

The fair inference seems to be that “shake . . . spear” was too common a tag to carry any personal reference whatever. What is suggested by the allusion in HISTRIOMASTIX is that the play of Dekker and Chettle, perhaps in respect of some old matter which it worked up, was partly in doggerel, as there seems to be otherwise no point in the passage. As there is much “Skeltonical” and other doggerel in the two plays of Munday and Chettle on Robert Earl of Huntington, written about the same time, this is likely enough. For the rest, if the poverty of the last Act of our play justifies the surmise that the work of Dekker and Chettle is embodied in it, we seem compelled to suppose also that their play had been completely taken over. It is impossible to believe that Shakespeare would have resorted to their work merely to eke out impotently at the finish a play which he himself had written to that point.

But other work has intervened. Though Fleay’s dates will not stand, it is highly probable that, as he surmised, the play has been composed in successive strata, the Ulyssean matter having in particular no natural structural connection with the central theme. And it is in the Ulyssean matter that we find marked traces of Chapman’s vocabulary and way of thought. That the versification as we have it is not his, need hardly be argued at length. Never in his signed work does he approach to the large rhythm and perfect cadence of the great dialogues of this play.

The continuity, the long slow slope
And vast curve of the gradual violin,

are out of his compass. But that there is some other hand

behind Shakespeare's has been felt by many critics. Professor Mackail has remarked that

The extraordinary Latinisms of *Troilus and Cressida*, which make its diction different from that of all Shakespeare's other plays, are one among many indications that this enigmatic and repellent drama was written under a powerful disturbing influence from without, and to some degree against nature.¹

Long ago, too, Verplanck noted the "large alloy of inferior matter," the "singular words, unusual accentuations, and bold experiments in language"; and the final difficulty, "how a drama which in so many of its parts displays all the riches and energy of the poet's mind when at its very zenith, should as a whole leave an effect so impotent and incongruous." And Richard Grant White notices with regard to the Ulyssean scenes "a singular lack of that peculiar characteristic of Shakespeare's dramatic style, the marked distinction and nice discrimination of the individual traits, mental and moral, of the various personages. . . . For example, no two men could be more unlike in character than Achilles and Ulysses"; yet their speeches in Act III, Scene iii,

are made of the same metal and coined in the same mint; and they both of them have the image and superscription of William Shakespeare. No words or thoughts could be more unsuited to that bold, bloody egoist, "the broad Achilles," than the reply he makes to Ulysses; but here Shakespeare was merely using the Greek champion as a lay figure to utter his own thoughts. . . . Ulysses thus flows over the whole serious part of the play. Agamemnon, Nestor, Æneas, and the rest all talk alike, and all like Ulysses.²

And Mr. Deighton in his "Arden" edition of the play, assents:

This similarity of tone and temperament cannot, it seems to me, be denied. Yet to admit it is to admit that Shakespeare has for once failed in what was the most distinctive mark of his superiority over all his com-

¹ Essay before cited, p. 57, note.

² Cited by Mr. Deighton.

peers, and that too in a play in which intellect is at its highest, which displays the profoundest practical wisdom, the keenest insight into the motives and impulses of human nature. Surely we have here another incongruity added to the enigmas which baffle us in the general scheme.¹

One qualification seems here to be necessary. The criticisms of White and Mr. Deighton were certainly *not* applicable (save perhaps at points) to the Cressida scenes, but solely to the ratiocinative discussions. There, however, they apply unanswerably. What then is the solution? I submit that it is to be found in the recognition of an intervening hand which drafted those discussions. And there are strong reasons for believing that hand to be Chapman's. More than any² dramatist of his time he was given to pseudo-dramatic scene-writing in which theses are argued where action should be developed; and in which any one of a number of persons may equally well utter any of the thoughts. His five main tragedies all conform to this description. And in drafting the didactic matter of TROILUS AND CRESSIDA he was not only expatiating in his natural vein but working in narrative matter with which he was especially familiar—the action of the ILIAD.

The one difficulty in the case put is to associate Chapman with a play in parts of which much of the Homeric action seems to be antipathetically treated. The lack of sympathy is in parts so marked that it had seemed to many of us natural to regard the play as in a measure a counterblast to Chapman's general glorification of Homer. And it is quite likely that an element of this kind was present in the play of Dekker and Chettle which we have surmised to be the primary basis of Shakespeare's. Chapman's way of acclaiming Homer was provocative enough to create reaction in that pugnacious period. But what seems to have happened in the Achillean part of the story at the close is a severe curtailment and compression, seeing that in three successive

¹ Introd. to *Troilus and Cressida*, p. xxx.

² Jonson is of course his great rival in this line.

short speeches we have Agamemnon announcing "Patroclus ta'en or slain"; Nestor directing somebody to "Go, bear Patroclus' body to Achilles"; and Ulysses announcing that Achilles "is arming, weeping, cursing, vowing vengeance." It is after similarly kaleidoscopic episodes between Troilus and Diomed, Hector and Achilles, with random interventions of Ajax and "one in sumptuous armour," that we have Achilles presented as instructing his Myrmidons to surround and slay Hector, which, after another snap-scene, they do.

It seems impossible that Chapman should have planned this finish. It is true that, despite his championship of Achilles in his running commentary on the Iliad, he shows in his *REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS* (III. iii.) his recognition of the evil side of the hero, *impiger, iracundus*:

When Homer makes Achilles passionate,
Wrathful, revengeful, and insatiate
In his affections; what man will deny,
He did compose it all of industry
To let men see, that men of most renown,
Strong'st, noblest, fairest, if they set not down
Decrees within them, for disposing these,
Of judgment, resolution, uprightness,
And certain knowledge of their use and ends,
Mishap and misery no less extends
To their destruction, with all that they prized,
Than to the poorest, and the most despised.¹

The speech gives a fair idea of how Chapman would have drafted those of the great didactic scenes in *TROILUS*, writing with false stresses, tediously, obscurely, even ungrammatically, alternating rhyme with blank verse, in a fashion which cried aloud for the transmuting hand of Shakespeare. It also enables us to conceive of his

¹ This speech, which is wide of the mark of the Homeric Achilles, raises the question whether Chapman was thinking of Essex, whom he addressed as "renowned Achilles" in the Epistle Dedicatory to his *SEVEN BOOKS OF THE ILIADS* in 1598.

plotting the stratagem of Ulysses to sting Achilles into action by playing on his vanity—an idea not to be found in Homer, but likely enough to occur to Chapman, who in the first two speeches of the fourth Act of *BYRON'S TRAGEDY* indicates and comments the situation of a personage once admired and flattered and latterly passed by. Byron talks very much like Achilles. It is even conceivable that, having planned that departure from the tradition, he should actually make Ulysses speak as if the primary cause of the wrath of Achilles were not known to exist. It will be remembered how in the Epistle Dedicatory to *IVID'S BANQUET* he stresses the importance of invention.

But nothing in his work makes it conceivable that he would ever have represented Achilles as accomplishing the death of Hector by surrounding him with Myrmidons and making them do the slaying. To say nothing of the extravagance of the degradation of the hero, such a finish brings the whole action to the plane of burlesque. It was bad enough to develop the elaborate stratagem of Ulysses to no purpose, making Achilles finally arm merely to avenge Patroclus, as in the *Iliad*. If Chapman's scheme involved a final resort to the traditional motive, it is a futility of plotting very much in the way of the action in *TIMON*, where Alcibiades is alternately supposed to be revenging himself and avenging Timon. But the final degradation of Achilles serves no purpose save one of derision and denigration of the whole Homeric tale; and such a purpose cannot plausibly be associated with Chapman.

Is it then to be associated with Shakespeare? As it happens, the closing scenes are precisely those which the critics are most generally inclined to pronounce non-Shakespearean; and they visibly are so. We are driven then to ask whether an amalgamation of Chapman matter with Dekker and Chettle matter had taken place independently of Shakespeare. Had Chapman taken over the other play and incompletely remodelled it; or had the

other dramatists either grafted their matter on Chapman's, modifying his antipathetically, or simply burlesqued his adored Iliad before Shakespeare went to work on the amalgam? Was the murder of Hector, for instance, their way of impugning the naïf iniquity of the narrative, in which Achilles gets divine armour and is physically aided by Pallas in his combat with unaided Hector?

Such an alternative theory, which alone would cover all the ground, seems incapable of proof, and we can but leave it as a guess. But we can, I think, reach reasonable certainty as to Chapman's drafting of the Ulysses-Agamemnon-Nestor-Achilles scenes, perhaps as part of a complete Achillean tragedy. The second of the two opening speeches in Act IV of BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, above mentioned, ends with the lines :

And we must, like obsequious parasites,
Follow their faces, wind about their persons
For looks and answers, or be cast behind
No more view'd than the wallet of their faults.

Here we have a variant of Time's "wallet . . . wherein he puts alms for oblivion" in TROILUS, IV. iii. 145. Chapman gives the idea somewhat as it is in Spenser,¹ from whom Shakespeare has been supposed to take it. But it is older than Spenser, being used in a proverbial fashion by Foxe :

And so the archbishop, casting into the *satchel behind him* all those Sir John Gostwike's *ingrattitudes*, went to the King, and won to Sir John his prince's favour again.

Acts and Monuments, ed. Cattle, viii. 27.

Here we have the *ingrattitudes* of the play; and this point also is implicit in the Chapman passage. It is of course arguable that Chapman may have heard this play, the early stage history of which is so hard to trace; and that both the "wallet" tag and the coincidence between the speech of Byron and that of Achilles (III. iii. 74) stand for

¹ *I'acrie Queene*, VI. viii. 24.

echoes by him. But throughout this and the other great Ulyssean scene we have so many traces of Chapman's vocabulary, and at the same time so much of his non-dramatic didactic method, that the only fair inference appears to be to count him the draftsman. Shakespeare, surely, would *not* of his own accord have made Achilles and Ulysses carry on between them the same scholastic argument: Chapman, we know, would: it was his way; and the debate between the sons of Priam over Helen (II. ii.) is equally an exercise in his manner.

In particular, all the dialectic as to the eye "seeing not itself," concerning which Grant White and Churton Collins were so confident that it proved Shakespeare's study of Plato's *FIRST ALCIBIADES* in the original, is rationally to be traced, through Chapman, not to Plato but to Sir John Davies, in whose *NOSCE TEIPSUM*, published in 1599, the thesis is expressly propounded.¹ From that poem came the phrase "spirit of sense," which occurs in this scene and also in the opening one (I. i. 58), a circumstance that admonishes us to date no earlier than 1599 Shakespeare's revision of the Dekker-Chettle play. Of course Shakespeare might have read Davies for himself, and introduced that particular phrase; but in the dialogue of Achilles and Ulysses it is embedded in the argument about the eye; and if the opening scene be based on the prior play he presumably took the expression from Chapman's matter. (On the other hand, it is arguable that the opening scene had also been drafted by Chapman.) The fact that the theorem about the eye occurs also in *JULIUS CÆSAR* (I. ii. 52) is another ground for suspecting Chapman's connection with that play about the same time.

If, on the other hand, we ascribe to Chapman the prologue to *TROIUS*, as was done by Grant White, we

¹ As I have pointed out elsewhere, the idea had been made current by Cicero. But we do not find it in Tudor literature, I think, before Davies.

are again led to question whether Chapman may not have had a hand even in the *Troilus* story. That the prologue is non-Shakespearean was felt even by the eighteenth-century editors, who also recognized other alien matter. White pronounced that the style is "not unlike" Chapman's.¹ It is really not particularly like any style of the period in a general way, being in a special *prologue style* which we find notably exhibited in the prologues to *Henry V* and in some of those of Dekker and Heywood. As I shall have to discuss later the *Henry V* choruses, I leave the question of the *TROILUS* prologue to be handled in that connection, merely noting here the independent support given to the Chapman theory in general by White's suggestion, which was made without any idea of a wider application.

For the rest, the general argument from phrase and vocabulary is particularly strong. "The axle-tree on which heaven rides" (I. iii. 66-7) is one of Chapman's tags. It is often used by Marlowe, as by other poets; but it occurs only here in the Shakespeare plays; and it is employed at least thrice by Chapman:

The axle-tree about which heaven hath his motion.
Epist. Ded. to *Achilles' Shield*.

Heaven's axle-tree.

18th *Iliad*, 441.

And may both points of heaven's straight axle-tree
Conjoin in one, before thyself and me.

Bussy D'Ambois, end.

And in the previous line in *TROILUS* we have "venerable Nestor, hatch'd in silver," which recalls the "silver'd

¹ There is not much trace of his vocabulary; but he uses both *responsive* and *responsible* with the force of the *corresponsive* in the *TROILUS* prologue; and again *correspondent* in the sense of our *responsible*. It is to be noted, however, that the prologue does not appear in the quartos. It may thus be of considerably later date than 1609. It may indeed have been penned, as the Cambridge editors seem to suggest, to fill a blank page in the Folio, though this seems unlikely.

and hatch'd” of Chapman, 23rd Iliad, 701. The “flexible” of line 50 occurs only here and in the non-Shakespearean 3 HENRY VI; but it is a common word with Chapman. Alike common and uncommon words in this play point to him. *Tortive* and *errant*, occurring together (I. iii. 9), are both once-used words; and the common *errant* is often used by Chapman, while *tortive* is eminently suggestive of his mint. The odd phrase, “of less expect” (l. 70) points to his “expectless”; and “importless,” in the next line, also a once-used term, suggests the same hand.

Among the other words special to this play are *imbecility*, *propension*, *protractive*, *persistive*, *mastic*, *insisture*, *propugnation*, *oppugnancy*, *topless*, *transcends*, *conduce* (twice), *perspicuous*, *directive*, *disorb'd*, *sphered* (twice), *benumbed*, *assubjugate*, *pash* (verb: twice), *erudition*, *antiquary*, *repared*, *expostulation*, *uncomprehensive*, *emulous* (four times), *changeful*, *characterless*, *soilure*, *violenteth*, *rejoindure*,¹ *embrasure*, *maculation*, *deedless*, *commixtion*, *vindicative*, *dexter*, *subduements*, *mirable*,² *expecters*, *expectance*,³ *convive*, *immaterial*, *indistinguishable*, *rivelled*, *constringed*, *enrapt*, *imminence*, *inveigle*.

These forty-seven words I have noted on a quite cursory search; and the number, I think, could easily be more than doubled, especially if there were added the words which occur only in TROILUS and in other “suspected” plays. Without special search in this connection, I can find sixteen of them in Chapman:

1. *Imbecility*. Comm. on 13th Iliad, l. 556.
2. *Propension*. Hom. Hymn to Earth.
3. *Topless*. TEARS OF PEACE: *Invocatio*; 1st Iliad, first version (Shepherd, p. 536); 18th Iliad, 184; SHADOW OF NIGHT: Poems, p. 12a.

¹ The word *rejoin* never occurs in Shakespeare.

² This is an old word, found in a Mystery play; but the line in which it occurs is very doubtful.

³ *Expectancy* occurs in HAMLET and OTHELLO.

4. *Transcend.* Last ref. same page, 2nd col.; MASK, Song of Love and Beauty; and often elsewhere. I have noted eight instances.
5. *Conduce.* OVID'S BANQUET, st. 55; Hom. Hymn to Jove; Epist. Ded. to Bacon.
6. *Perspicuous.* Epist. Ded. to OVID'S BANQUET; Pref to the Understander, with ACHILLES' SHIELD.
7. *Sphered.* HERO AND LEANDER, iii. 144; 24th Iliad, 668, and elsewhere.
8. *Benumb'd.* BUSSY D'AMBOIS, V. iv. 181; FRAG. OF TEARS OF PEACE: Poems, p. 154a, etc.
9. *Pash.* 13th Iliad, 299; 12th Odyssey, 580.
10. *Erudition.* HYMNUS IN NOCTEM, § 8.
11. *Expectance.* EPICEDIUM: Poems, p. 171b; BYRON'S TRAGEDY, V. i. 55; 11th Odyssey, 475.
12. *Emulous.* 5th Odyssey, 163; 18th Iliad, 185.
13. *Deedless.* 5th Iliad, 475; MAY DAY, II. iv.; HERO AND LEANDER, vi. 64.
14. *Commixtion.* 10th Odyssey, 640.
15. *Assubjugate.* This quasi-French form I do not find in Chapman or any other Elizabethan; but he has *subjugate*, which never occurs in Shakespeare.
16. *Inveigle.* 4th Odyssey, 523.

Of the remaining words some, I think, are used by Chapman, though I have not kept the references. The formations *uncomprehensive* and *indistinguishable* are matched by his *incomprehensible* (same force) and *undistinguish'd*. *Directive* is the equivalent of his *directful*. *Protractive* and *persistive* are nonce-words in his manner: he has *protract* and *protraction*; whereas *protract* occurs only in CYMBELINE and 1 HENRY VI in Shakespeare. *Expostulatio* occurs as a rubric to the EPICEDIUM; and he so often has *rapt* and so many *en* formations that the word *enrapt* is nearly sure to be his. I have not noted *dexter* in his signed work, but he uses *dexterous* in the

primary sense (21st Iliad, 161). Though not *repure*, I find in him *repurify* (6th Odyssey, 49, 85). *Disorbed* is likely to be by the author of *orbed* and *unsphered*. *Constringed* appears here to be new, but this is not certain. *Insisture* is a coinage which has come to nothing, and its meaning is problematic. Everywhere in the list the probability of coinage or use points to him. As to *mastic*, which has been held to point to HISTRIOMASTIX and SATIROMASTIX, I hazard anew the old suggestion that it may have nothing to do with either, but may be a misprint for the vernacular *mastie*, which has the force of large and strong (see Foster's WORD-BOOK), and is also a name for a breed of dog resembling the mastiff. This word Chapman actually uses in SIR GILES GOOSECAP: "a mastie dog" (III. i. 97: cf. Professor Parrott's note). "Rank," which occurs in the same line in TROILUS, is a common term with Chapman.

If, finally, a list be made of words in this play occurring elsewhere only in HENRY V and CYMBELINE or some other late or mixed play, the proportion common to Chapman will be found notably large.

§ 3. "CLASSICAL" INTERLUDES

As the three plays in which, with different degrees of proof, we have seen reason to suppose Chapman had a share, are all founded on "classical" themes, we may naturally inquire whether his hand is to be traced in certain interludes in the Shakespeare plays which have at various times been called in question as apparently alien matter. And first we may consider

(a) *The Masque in the "Tempest."*

Fleay makes the notable suggestion that "the lines forming the masque in IV, i. are "palpably an addition, probably made by Beaumont for the Court performance before the Prince, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Palatine in 1612-13; or else before the King on 1st November 1612." The Cambridge Editors had previously put the view that the masque is non-Shakespearean; and it will probably be felt by most critical readers to be rather uninspired matter for the Master at a time when he could write the speech of Prospero which follows. The suggestion that Beaumont was the author is fairly well grounded. Fleay notes these points of coincidence:

1. Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims.

Tempest.

Bordered with sedges and water-flowers.

Beaumont's *Inner Temple Masque* of 1613—
(*The Device or Argument*).

Naiades with sedged crowns.

Tempest.

¹ *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 249.

2. Blessing . . . and increasing. *Tempest.*
 Blessing and increase. *Inner Temple Masque.*
3. The main part played by Iris in both.
4. The dance of the Naiads in both. Many of the properties could be utilized in both performances.

It can hardly be doubted that there was some link between the two masques; but the last item suggests the possibility of partial imitation as an alternative to the inference of common authorship. “Blessing and increase” was a standing phrase, and the parallel is not exact; while the words about the river brims are part of the prose description in Beaumont. In support of the Beaumont theory I might note the resemblance of cadence between the TEMPEST lines:

Vines with clustering bunches growing
 Plants with goodly burthen bowing,

and two in the priest’s chant in Act II, Scene ii, of Fletcher’s FAITHFUL SHEPHERDESS, as well as parts of a number of the songs in the partner plays. This, however, is a slight feature, which also might be a matter of imitation; and as Chapman produced *his* MASK OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE AND LINCOLN’S INN in 1613, “at the princely celebration of the most royal nuptials of the Palsgrave and his thrice gracious Princess Elizabeth,” it seems worth while to make a fuller investigation.

In the 68 rhymed lines which constitute the interlude there are eighteen words which occur nowhere else in the plays:

Vetches	betrimis	bed-right
turfy	broom-groves	windring (?)
stover	lorn (lass-lorn)	sedged
pionéd	marge (sea-marge)	sicklemen
twilled	bosky	furrow (noun)
brims	unshrubb’d	rye-straw

To these might be added the combination *pole-clipt*; but that, like *waspish-headed*, *rocky-hard*, *short-grass'd*, and *grass-plot*, being a case of bracketing rather than of specific naming, like *rye-straw*, may be set aside as non-significant.

Then there are two words which point to parts of *TIMON*, one ostensibly written by Chapman as it stands, the other an apparently rewritten Chapman speech:

Donation (*TIMON*, III. ii. 90).

Crisp (*TIMON*, IV. iii. 183).

Further, we have some words and a phrase each found only here and in one or two other plays:

Leas (*HENRY V*, V. ii. 44).

Scandal'd (*CORIOLANUS*, III. i. 44; *CYMBELINE*, III. iv. 62).

Many-colour'd messenger (*ALL'S WELL*, I. iii. 158).

It is, to say the least, an odd coincidence that the last three all connect with Chapman:

Leas. HYMN TO HERMES (*Poems*, 296*a*); *EUGENIA* (327*b*); 11th *Iliad*, 104.

Scandal'd. REVENGE OF BUSSY, I. i. 329; JUSTIFICATION: DIALOGUS, l. 9; "Scandal" (vb.) CHABOT, I. ii. 133; "Scandalling," 22nd *Odyssey*, 586; 34th *Odyssey*, 616.

Many colour'd messenger. "The thousand colour'd Dame" (*Iris*): 3rd *Iliad*, 145. (Homer simply has: "the Goddess.")

"She that wears the thousand-colour'd hair": 23rd *Iliad*, 182. (Again, no such epithet in Homer.)

Again, the word *scarcity* occurs, in the Shakespeare plays,¹ only in this masque and in *TIMON* (II. ii. 234) and *PERICLES* (I. iii. 302), which we have seen some reason to connect with Chapman; and *sunburnt* occurs only in this

¹ It is found, however, in *Venus and Adonis*, l. 753.

masque, MUCH ADO, and TROILUS, whereas it is found thrice in Chapman—ODYSSEY, xvii.; ILIAD, iv. 557; xxiv. 358. *Dusky*, too, is found only in 2 HENRY VI and RICHARD III, apart from this masque, and this occurs in Chapman’s ANDROMEDA: Poems, p. 182*b*.

Of the once-used words, however, I have noticed only a few in Chapman:

Brimms. Trans. of 5th Satire of Juvenal: Poems, p. 265*a*.

Bed-right. This should probably be read *bed-rite*. Chapman has:

Here bed-rites offered, but no hymns of praise.

Trans. of Musæus: p. 100*a*.

Also in *A Good Woman*: p. 151*b*.

Furrow. The noun occurs in Chapman’s separate version of the Shield of Achilles, twice; also in the 13th Iliad, 629.

Rye-straw hats. Compare “sheav’d hat” in the COMPLAINT; and “hats of parching Thessaly, broad-brimm’d, high crowned,” in CÆSAR AND POMPEY, V. i. 68.

Broom-groves is admittedly a doubtful expression. Chapman has *home-groves* in EUGENIA (p. 327*b*); but that is not lucid either:

Haunting the home-groves husbandmen manured.

A dubious guess suggests itself as to *holm-groves*¹—holm being pronounced *home*. Marlowe has:

Elysium hath a wood of *holm-trees black*,
Whose earth does not perpetual green grass lack;
There good birds rest—

this in rendering Ovid’s parrot’s farewell (El. II. vi.).

Twilled is another crux, some editors preferring to read *lilied*. It was noted by Steevens that Chapman speaks of *twillpants* in OVID’S BANQUET. This appears to stand for

¹ Compare “Grove of oaks” in Bussy D’Ambois, V, iv. 104.

tulipants = tulips; and it is not known whether "twill" or "twillip" was a vernacular form. If either were "twill'd" or "twillip'd" might be the right reading.

I would add that "crisp," which Mr. Moreton Luce in his "Arden" edition here interprets as "covered with wavelets," and in *TIMON* as "covered with small clouds," probably means simply "curled" in the sense of "curved."¹ "Crisp head" in 1 *HENRY IV* (I. iii. 106) does mean "covered with wavelets"; but in the *MERCHANT* (III. ii. 92) "crisped . . . locks" are just curls; and Chapman's "crisps" implies in the *AMOROUS ZODIAC* (st. vii) mean "folds of curls." "Crisp heaven" in *TIMON* stands for "curved heaven," just as his "crooked," a score of times if not invariably, means "curved"² (as in Marlowe and before him), not angular or zig-zag. "Crisp channels," then, are curved or winding channels; and this use of the word points to the use in *TIMON*. As to "saffron," of which Mr. Luce points out the classical derivation, I would note that this epithet is frequent in Chapman. (Poems, p. 87-9; 8th Iliad, 1; 12th Odyssey, 12; and elsewhere.)

This does not amount to much; and if more verbal and other coincidences are to be found in Beaumont, the decision must be on that side. Thus far, however, I have not found any; and I would suggest the probability (1) that Chapman would see Beaumont's elaborate masque, and (2) that its details might suggest some of the imagery of that in the *TEMPEST*. It may be added that the phrase "her deity" is a form repeatedly found in Chapman ("her deity," "your deities," "thy deity," "my deity"); that the terms *turfy*, *bosky*, *unshrub'd* (which recalls his *shrubby*), are very much in his manner; and that the coupled epithets are also like him.

¹ Mr. Luce's view was first suggested by Steevens. Mine, I find, was put by Upton.

² See above, p. 34.

Finally, "spongy April" recalls Chapman's

Earth, at this spring, spongy and languorsome.

Amorous Zodiac, St. vii ;

and he uses the verb "trim," in various flections, a score of times, though I do not remember an instance of "betrimis."

(b) *The Interludes in "Hamlet."*

Several attempts have been made to find an author for the speech declaimed by Hamlet as a reminiscence from "an excellent play, well digested in the scenes, set down with as much modesty as cunning," but which "was never acted." Fleay suggested that Shakespeare wrote the speech in 1594, in rivalry with the scene (II. i.) in the DIDO of Marlowe and Nashe, in which Æneas describes the sack of Troy, and saw fit to use it in 1601. There can be little doubt that the Pyrrhus speech in HAMLET is an imitation of that in DIDO as to versification; but some of us find it hard to believe that Shakespeare, had he done such an archaistic exercise in his earlier days, would deliberately have paid excessive compliments to it when he was able to write HAMLET. Seeking a more plausible theory, one asks whether it may have been part of an early classical tragedy by Chapman, who certainly imitated Marlowe in his early period. I cannot profess to find any marked resemblance to any single piece of his published verse in this archaistic extract; but it is worth noticing that the vocabulary suggests him: for instance, the words *sable*, *ominous*, *smear'd*, *impasted*, *coagulate*, *repugnant*, *declined*, *rack*, *nave*, *spokes*, and *fellies*, are all found or indicated in his work; and those italicized do not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare. *Coagulate* occurs in ALL FOOLS, IV, near end. *Repugnant* he uses frequently. *Fellies* is the word which Chapman twice spells *felffs* or *felfs*; and *impasted* is formed from his *paste*. As against *eterne* he several times

has *eternnesse*. *Lank* occurs only here and in 2 HENRY VI (*lank-lean* in Prologue iv in HENRY V), and this is found in Chapman (*To YOUNG IMAGINARIES: Poems*, p. 160*b*; and *EUGENIA*, p. 331*b*). The "whiff and wind of his fell sword," again, connects with *TROILUS*, V. iii. 41. It is derived from *DIDO*, II. i. But what most strongly suggests him is the passage:

His sword
Which was declining on the milky head
Of reverend Priam, seem'd i' the air to *stick*.

Gules, it may be added, occurs only in *TIMON* (IV. iii. 59), apart from this speech; and in the *TIMON* scene we have found a number of once-used words which occur in Chapman.

Leaving the problem at that, I turn to the play-within-the-play in *HAMLET*, where again we have an archaistic style, with rhyme. Here, indeed, we might reasonably suppose that Shakespeare would write the scene penned by Hamlet for the players. But I would call attention to the fact that the two rhymed speeches in *OTHELLO*, I. iii. 199-219, which appear to be interpolated between lines 198 and 220, and are plainly non-Shakespearean, are very much in the manner of the play-scene in *HAMLET*. That they should be Chapman's does not at first seem likely: but if they be compared with the many rhymed passages which he inserts in his tragedies, they will be seen, I think, to be very similar in quality to those. For instance:

'Tis thine own dear twin.
No man can add height to a woman's sin.
Vice never doth her just height so provoke
As when she rageth under virtue's cloak.

Bussy D'Ambois, V. i. 99-102

She cannot live, and this unwreak'd sustain.
The woes are bloody that in woman reign.
The Sicile gulf keeps fear in less degree;
There is no tiger not more tame than she.

Revenge of Bussy, IV. ii. 35-8

Whom you discover you neglect, but ope
A ruinous passage to your own best hope.

Id. V. ii. 19-20.

As when the moon hath comforted the night,
And set the world in silver of her light.

Byron's Conspiracy, III. i. 6.

Ivory, brass and gold
That thieves may purchase, and be bought and sold,
Shall not be used about me ; lasting worth
Shall only set the Duke of Byron forth.

Id. III. ii. 174-7.

Be what he will, men in themselves entire
March safe with naked feet on coals of fire.

Id. ib. 227-8.

A string of couplets of this stamp would produce just the kind of effect made in the OTHELLO passage and the play-scene ; and in the latter such couplets as :

Where joy most revels, grief doth most lament ;
Grief joys, joy grieves, on slender accident,

are markedly in Chapman's manner. There are clues of vocabulary, too, which obtrude themselves, as "Tellus' orbèd ground." "Tellus" occurs elsewhere only in a clearly non-Shakespearean part of the SHREW and in PERICLES, IV. i. 14 ; whereas it is frequent in Chapman ; and we have seen that "orbèd" is his word in the COMPLAINT. In this scene, too, we have *enacture*, which compares with *acture* in the COMPLAINT. *Operant*, again, occurs only here and in TIMON (IV. iii. 25) ; in the scene in which we have found so much of the vocabulary of Chapman. Beyond this there is little to be said, the clues of *stick* and *scope* (ll. 200, 229) having here little importance. But it may be added that the theme of second marriages, on which the Player Queen enlarges, is much discussed in THE WIDOW'S TEARS, in the same strain, with much the same moral. Compare :

None wed the second but who killed the first.

Hamlet,

That to wed the second was no better than to cuckold the first.

The Widow's Tears, II. iv. 30.

Could it be that Shakespeare was again giving Chapman a "lift"? There is an alternative or modified hypothesis, which will fall to be considered later in connection with ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

(c) *The Interlude in "Cymbeline."*

There is nothing here so strongly suggestive of Chapman as the "thunder-stone" of the song in IV. iii. 258-81, which is surely non-Shakespearean. That word, which for Lowell and others has been sufficient to turn the scales against the line: "Like chimney-sweepers, come to dust," occurs twice in Chapman (TEARS OF PEACE: Poems, p. 120*b*; 15th Iliad, 117).¹ But in the dream interlude (V. iv. 87) we have the "marble mansion" of TIMON; and the whole of the quaint rhymed verse is much more in Chapman's way than in Shakespeare's. That it is non-Shakespearean has been the view of many critics. But the problem does not end there. It is so difficult to conceive Shakespeare in his last years *planning* CYMBELINE as it stands, that even German conservatism has accepted Coleridge's theory of it as a play written by the Master in his youth and rewritten in his last theatrical years. In point of central theme it certainly belongs to the pre-Shakespearean chronicle-play type; but just as evidently the sub-plot is late. Long ago I surmised from some verbal clues that the original play was partly Peele's. But there is little of Peele left; and one cannot even assign to him with confidence the absurd etymology of *mulier* from *mollis aer*, which, as it happens, is to be found in Caxton's GAME OF CHESS. A number of verbal clues,² however, and many items of style and phrase, raise the question whether

¹ Compare "thunder-stocks" in EUGENIA—Inductio: p. 327*a*.

² For instance, "crooked" = curving. See above, p. 34.

Chapman had not a considerable share in the recast. The problem needs as careful detailed handling as does that of TIMON; and I do not propose here to do more than indicate it.

Some of the apparent clues may be misleading. "Thunder-stone" and the song containing it may have been in the old play: a number of apparently out-of-the-way words used by Chapman, such as *rampired*, *delight-some*, *wreakful*, *gratulate*, *topless*, are to be found in the pre-Shakespeareans. But "thunder-stone" occurs in JULIUS CÆSAR (I. iii. 49), to which play we have been several times pointed by verbal clues in our inquiry; and a complete investigation will have to take it into account.

§ 4. "JULIUS CÆSAR"

FLEAY accounted for the imperfectly Shakespearean flavour of much of the style of JULIUS CÆSAR by a theory that it had originally been a double play; and that Ben Jonson had been employed by the company after Shakespeare's death to condense it into one. There are certainly many marks of condensation, as Fleay points out; and the hypothesis that there had originally been two plays would at least account for the anomaly, noted by so many critics, that Cæsar is not the hero of his own tragedy; as well as for that of the duplicated account of Portia's death (the first being evidently planned to supersede the second); for the marked differences between the Brutus of the earlier Acts and the Brutus of the fourth; and for the many instances in which the action is so telescoped as to be unintelligible to a reader unacquainted with the history. The fact, again, that Jonson in his posthumous DISCOVERIES affirms that Shakespeare wrote:

Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause,

lends itself to the theory that Ben was employed to condense the supposed double play, seeing that the passage there stands (III. i. 47):

Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
Will he be satisfied;

which is just the sort of thing that Ben would have made of it.

But all this proceeds on the assumption that the original

double play was wholly Shakespeare's ; and I would suggest an inquiry as to whether the foundation plays were not pre-Shakespearean, and whether here again some of the classical substratum may not have been supplied by Chapman. It is not merely the verbal clues, though they are noteworthy (“colossus,”¹ for instance, is a tic of Chapman's), that set up speculation. Several passages tell of another *mind* than Shakespeare's : this, for instance, in the first scene of the third Act :

Cas. . . . How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn and accents yet unknown !

Bru. How many times shall Cæsar bleed in sport,
That now on Pompey's basis lies along
No worthier than the dust !

Cas. So oft as that shall be,
So often shall the knot of us be call'd
The men that gave their country liberty.

Dec. What, shall we forth ?

Cas. Ay, every man away :
Brutus shall lead : and we will grace his heels
With the most noblest and best hearts of Rome.

If Shakespeare wrote that, “once more, if so, the less Shakespeare he.” It is all dramatically false ; and the style is as unlike him as the matter. Mr. Macmillan, who in his careful edition of the play does not fully face the problems above indicated, is content to say that “Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Cassius and Brutus a prediction of the drama which he is composing.” I am unable to believe that such an idea could have occurred to Shakespeare in regard to this play any more than in regard to CORIOLANUS or ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. The

¹ The occurrence of this in an apparently spurious scene of FAUSTUS raises another problem. But the word seems to have come in with Spenser.

lines are those of a scholarly person who was aware that the theme had already been repeatedly dramatized, and who lost sight of all dramatic fitness in communicating his reflection to his audience. I would more readily, I confess, impute to one of the pre-Shakespeareans¹ than to Chapman such a dramatic procedure, and such lines as :

Stoop, Romans, stoop,
 And let us bathe our *hands* in Cæsar's blood
Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords:
 Then walk we forth, *even* to the market-place:
 And, waving our red weapons o'er our heads,
 Let's all cry "Peace, freedom and liberty!"

The last three lines, with their "*Let's all cry*," are feeble enough for Peele. To assign them tentatively to Chapman is not to help his reputation. But it is the fact that the *sentiment* of the conspiracy and the assassination is Chapman's as indicated by his TRAGEDY OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY, which, he tells in the Epistle Dedicatory, never touched the stage.

That late-published play, in Fleay's opinion, was a comparatively early one; and the epistle justifies him. Now, if Chapman wrote an early play on Cæsar and Pompey, he was a likely man to try to carry the history further; and the moral key of JULIUS CÆSAR is the key of his published play. If, on the other hand, he drafted JULIUS CÆSAR, or recast a previous play, it was certainly in the main again rewritten. The double-endings in CÆSAR AND POMPEY are fully twice as numerous as those in our play; and, indeed, there is little suggestion of his tragic style, as apart from vocabulary; though some of the verse—e.g. the Portia scene—is akin alike in manner and

¹ Mr. Macmillan admits that in the parley which opens the fifth Act the recriminations of the leaders, which are not suggested by anything in Plutarch, "remind us of the bandying of abuse between Warwick . . . and Edward and Gloucester" in 3 Henry VI, and of passages in 1 Henry VI—which, *pace* Mr. Macmillan, are *not* by Shakespeare.

purport to the serious verse in *THE GENTLEMAN USHER*. But for the origination of the play we must choose between Chapman and some other; that Shakespeare planned it as it stands is to me, at least, inconceivable. It is wholly inadequate to its titular theme. It is conceivable, on the other hand, that Chapman, who in *CÆSAR AND POMPEY* makes much more of Pompey than of Cæsar, and more of Cato than of Pompey, should have brought in Cæsar mainly to pose and be assassinated; though it is hardly likely that even he would not present Cæsar in his greatness before exhibiting him in his decay. The speech of Marullus in the opening scene certainly carries on the key of Chapman's play, but a severe compression must have taken place to produce the present anomalous drama.

If, further, it was of Chapman's drafting or recasting, it is rewritten; the style is not his, and the low proportion of double-endings is impossible for him after 1598. The words "concave" and "replications" suggest him, as do, later in the scene, "cogitations," found only in the *WINTER'S TALE* apart from this play; "hug"; and the verb "scandal," found only in the interlude in the *TEMPEST*, *CORIOLANUS*, and *CYMBELINE*. But the total proportion of double-endings in the play (19 per cent. of the blank verse) is far below his in *CÆSAR AND POMPEY*; and Ben Jonson's revision would not have operated in that way, his own proportion being high. One would rather infer from the metrical phenomena that Shakespeare had done most of his recast even before 1599, the date assigned to the play by Mr. Macmillan, on good grounds; and that the proportion of double-endings in parts of the play had been increased by Jonson's revision. In the opening scene there are only two in fifty lines of blank-verse. Altogether, there is ground for surmising an original play by some of the pre-Shakespeareans, who were likely enough to try one on this theme.

With regard to the hypothesis of a revision by Jonson,

it should be noted that Fleay shows substantial grounds in the diction and in other respects :

1. Elsewhere, Shakespeare always spells *Anthony* or *Antonie* with the *h* : here it is always *Antony* or *Antonie*, as in Jonson.

(But we have Marc Antonio in Chapman's ALL FOOLS, and Antonius, as well as Anthony, in CÆSAR AND POMPEY.)

2. The number of participles in *-ed*, with the final syllable sounded, is unusually large.

3. The phrase "I will come home to you" (I. ii. 309) does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare. Jonson has it in CATILINE, III. i.

4. The phrase "quality and kind" (II. iii. 64) is in the same case. Jonson has "kind and quality" in EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOUR, II. i.

5. The phrase "bear me hard" occurs thrice in this play (I. ii. 317; II. i. 215; III. i. 157), not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Jonson has it in CATILINE, IV. v.

6. The number of short lines in the play, where no pause is required, is very great, and seems to indicate a process of abridgment.

7. In II. i. 26, "degrees" is used with the meaning of steps or stairs. This occurs nowhere else in Shakespeare, but is found in SEJANUS. (On this head, however, I would point out that *degrees* = steps are specified in the stage directions for Scene ii of the first Act of CÆSAR AND POMPEY.)

8. The passage V. v. 73-5 is closely paralleled in CYNTHIA'S REVELS, II. iii.

Some of his arguments Fleay afterwards dropped, notably his assumption that Shakespeare had been Jonson's coadjutor in SEJANUS. Latterly he came to the more probable view that the colleague was Chapman, who took alarm after Jonson's prosecution. But it is time that the problem should be critically investigated, in the light both of the Jonson and the Chapman data. As suggesting that

Chapman may have been concerned even in the poor matter of Act V, Scene i (where the better matter is very much in his manner), I may point out that the form "worthless of," with the force of "unworthy of" (l. 61), found nowhere else in the plays, occurs in BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, V. ii. 213. But this, again, is found in JONSON (POETASTER, V. i.). Oddly, it is put in the mouth of Virgil, supposed by some to stand for Chapman—a likely hypothesis enough, seeing that till late in life Jonson and Chapman were warm and mutually panegyric friends. In this connection it might be worth inquiring whether the piece of translation from the fourth Æneid in the fifth Act of the POETASTER may be really a fragment by Chapman. It has several of his tic-words.

§ 5. "THE TAMING OF THE SHREW"

THE SHREW has always been one of the deeply doubted plays; and no convincing solution has yet been found for the problem of its authorship. Meres makes no mention of it in 1598, unless it was then known as LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON, and that is distinctly unlikely. Fleay has most fully canvassed the question, and we may usefully consider his early theory, untenable as it is:

The *Taming of the Shrew* is unlike any play hitherto considered; the Shakespeare part of it being evidently confined to the Katharine and Petruchio scenes:

II. i. 167-826.

III. ii., except 180-150, 240-254.

IV. i. iii. v., except three lines at end.

V. ii., except ten lines at conclusion.

The construction of the play shows that it was not composed by Shakespeare in conjunction with another author, but that his additions are replacements of the original author's work; alterations made hurriedly for some occasion when it was not thought worth while to write an entirely new play. Such an occasion was the plague year of 1608, when the theatres were closed and the companies had to travel. . . . This date is confirmed by the allusion to other taming plays, of which there were several; the present play, in its altered shape, being probably the latest: II. i. 297 refers to PATIENT GRISSEL, by Dekker, Chettle, and Houghton, December 1599; "curst" in II. i. 187, 294, 307, V. 2, 188, to Dekker's *Medicine for a Curst Wife*; and IV. i. 221 to Heywood's *Woman killed with Kindness*, March 1608.

There is nothing but the supposed inferiority of work to imply an earlier date; and this, on examination, will be seen to be merely a subjective inference arising from the reflex action of the less worthy portion with which Shakespeare's is associated. "Rundesby" in III. ii. 10 is from *Sir Giles Goosecap* (1601); and Baptista, as a man's name,

could hardly have come under Shakespeare's notice when in his *HAMLET* he made it a woman's.

The earlier play thus altered probably dates 1596, when an edition of *The Taming of A Shrew* was reprinted. This last-named play was written for Pembroke's company in 1588-9. Another limit of date is given by the name *Sincklo* in the Induction. *Sincklo* was an actor with the Chamberlain's men from 1597 to 1604. *Nicke* in IV. i. is Nicholas Tooley. The play is not mentioned by Meres in 1598. In the Induction, "The Slys are no rogues: we came in with Richard Conqueror," is, I think, an allusion to the stage history of the time; Sly and Richard the Third (Burbadge) came into Lord Strange's company together in 1591. . . .

The Induction, partly revised by Shakespeare, seems to have been clumsily fitted by the players (as, indeed, the whole play is, especially in the non-appearance of "my cousin Ferdinand," IV. i. 154): surely Sly ought to have been replaced, as in the 1588 play: and is it possible that Shakespeare even in a farce should have made Sly talk blank-verse, So. ii, line 60-120?

The Taming of A Shrew, as acted in June 1594 at Newington Butts, was the old play which had belonged to Pembroke's men, probably by Kyd; but the first version of the [*i.e.* the latter] play, afterwards altered by Shakespeare, was written, I think, by Lodge (aided by Drayton in the Induction). This Induction was, I think, greatly altered by Shakespeare in 1603.¹

It is not Fleay's happiest piece of work. There is really something to be said for the Lodge theory; but Fleay does not say it. In his *MANUAL*, however, where he puts the unsupported theory that Shakespeare and Marlowe wrote *A SHREW*, and that Lodge rewrote Marlowe's part in 1601-2 (!), he shows that among the many irregular lines of the play are a large number in which one syllable constitutes the first foot. This type of line was instituted by Marlowe, and Lodge frequently has it in his *WOUNDS OF CIVIL WAR*. But this is a slender basis for an attribution, and much more is required to get the hypothesis a hearing. Chapman, to name no other, has plenty of irregular lines, in all conscience, and some of the type in question. All that is made clear by the multitude of irregular lines is that, as Fleay insists, the bulk of the work is not Shakespeare's.

¹ *Life and Work of Shakespeare*, pp. 124-7.

Nothing, finally, is done to justify the thesis that Shakespeare worked on the Induction and the play as late as 1603. Neither in the Induction nor in the Petruchio scenes is the versification at all like that of *HAMLET* or *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*: it must be much earlier if it be Shakespeare's at all. Nor can the allusion to Grissel, the use of the word "curst" in II. i. 187, and the phrase "to kill a wife with kindness," warrant a date which will cover Heywood's play. The title of that, as Fleay afterwards recognized, is a proverbial phrase; "patient Grissel" is in the same case; and "curst" is no more allusive in II. i. 187 than in I. i. 185 and I. ii. 70, 89, 180, or elsewhere. As a matter of fact we have the "killed with kindness" tag in Greene's *MAMILLIA* (1580-83):

Killed her with kindness (*Works*, ii. 26);

and in Munday's *DOWNFALL OF ROBERT EARL OF HUNTINGTON* (III. i.: ed. Collier, p. 54) printed in 1598:

Tuck. I will be kind.

Jenny. Will not your kindness kill her?

And there seems to have been, as Professor Bond points out, a "Patient Grisel" tract in circulation before 1590, to say nothing of the lately recovered old play on the theme by John Phillip. The breakdown of all these grounds leaves us free to seek better tests.

That Chapman could have had a hand in the *SHREW* has probably never occurred to any one; and it is solely by primary induction from word-clues in *TIMON* that I have been led to think it possible. These clues are:

1. The transitive use of *cease*, which occurs only in *TIMON*, *CYMBELINE*, and the *SHREW* in the Shakespeare concordance, and which we have seen to be common in Chapman.

2. The word *ewer*, found only in TIMON and THE SHREW in all the plays, and also occurring in Chapman, 1st Odyssey, 222; 7th Odyssey, 243; 15th Odyssey, 175; 18th Odyssey, 566, 567; BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, V. ii. 182. In the last-cited passage we have "basins and ewers," as in the Induction, II. i. 350.

These do not carry us far; but there are others:

3. *Plash* (I. i. 23) occurs only in the SHREW in the Shakespeare plays. It is found in Chapman, HYMN TO CHRIST: Poems, p. 145a.
4. *Deck* is abnormally used in I. i. 16: "To deck his fortune with his virtuous deeds." Compare:

As great princes, well-inform'd and *deck'd*
With gracious *virtue*.

Epist. Ded. to Prince Henry.

Jove's daughter, *deck'd* with the mellifuous tongue.

Trans. of *Hom. Hymn to the Moon*.

5. *Satiety* (I. i. 24) occurs only in the SHREW, TIMON, and OTHELLO. It is very common in Chapman.
6. *Ingenious* (I. i. 9: "A course of learning and ingenious studies") is, as we have seen, a common word of Chapman's. It would have no significance apart from other clues, seeing that Shakespeare uses the word in several plays; but the Act in which it occurs is pronounced by Fleay not Shakespeare's, and is not likely to be claimed for him by any one who recognizes another hand in the play. And it is one of four favourite words of Chapman in the opening speech.
7. *Institute* (I. i. 8) occurs only in the SHREW and in the non-Shakespearean 1 HENRY VI. It is found in Chapman, 24th Odyssey, 123, and elsewhere:

Where many a fore-studied exercise
Was instituted.

Trans. of *Georgics of Hesiod*: Poems, p. 229b.

8. *Stoics* (I. i. 31) occurs only in the SHREW. It is found in Chapman, *EUGENIA: Poems*, p. 381a, and elsewhere.
9. *Stocks*, as here used, is also special to this play. Chapman has the word in the BLIND BEGGAR, near end.
- 10-11. *Mathematics* and *metaphysics* (I. i. 37), being required words, are not so significant as others. But it should be noted that they occur only in the SHREW. The Latin and Italian phrases, of which there are many, are among the data which have led so many critics to doubt Shakespeare's authorship; and the scholastic terms point in the same direction.
12. *Perpetually* (II. i. 142), found, as above noted, in PERICLES and ALL'S WELL, occurs several times in Chapman; and we shall see that in ALL'S WELL, as in PERICLES, it is probably non-Shakespearean.
13. *Counterpoints* (II. i. 353). Occurs only in the SHREW.
14. *Pedascule* (III. i. 50). Occurs only in the SHREW.
15. *Gamut*, which occurs four times in the same scene, is found only in the SHREW. It is of course a required word.
16. *Studs* (III. ii. 63) is found only in the SHREW. It occurs in Chapman, 1st Iliad, 244; 7th Iliad, 262; 11th Iliad, 549; 14th Iliad, 154.
17. *Eyesore* (III. ii. 103) comes only in the SHREW and in LUCRECE. It occurs in Chapman, 17th Odyssey, 525.
18. *Cuff* (noun and verb) occurs twice in the SHREW, once in the non-Shakespearean 1 HENRY VI, and once in HAMLET. It occurs dozens of times in Chapman.
19. *Incredible* (II. i. 308) is found nowhere else in the Shakespeare plays. Chapman has the word in his Commentarius on the second Iliad; in BYRON'S TRAGEDY, V. ii. 103; and elsewhere.
20. *Ceremonial* (III. ii. 6) also occurs only in the SHREW. Chapman has *unceremonious*, and very often *ceremony*.

21. *Rudesby* (III. ii. 10) occurs only in the SHREW and in TWELFTH NIGHT. As Fleay notes, it is found as a name in SIR GILES GOOSECAP, which is now definitely assigned to Chapman, on Fleay's original suggestion.
22. *Armoury* (III. ii. 47) occurs only in the SHREW and in TITUS ANDRONICUS. It is found in Chapman, 1st Odyssey, 202; 19th Odyssey, 14; 22nd Odyssey, 176, 190; MONSIEUR D'OLIVE, I. i. 28; 5th Iliad, 213.
23. *Chine* (III. ii. 51), found in 2 HENRY VI and HENRY VIII, occurs frequently in Chapman's Homer.
24. *Begnawn* (III. ii. 55) is one of several other words in the same speech that are not found elsewhere in Shakespeare. Chapman has *gnawn* in the 19th Iliad, 54. This occurs in the MERRY WIVES, II. ii. 307. We have *gnawed* in the ERRORS, V. i. 289, and in RICHARD III, I. iv. 25.
25. *Mad-brain* (III. ii. 10); and *mad-brained* (III. ii. 165) are non-Shakespearean. The first occurs only in the SHREW; the second only in a Chapman line in TIMON and in 1 HENRY VI. The first is found thrice in Chapman's BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA. *Cuff* also comes in III. ii. 10.
26. *Hungerly* (III. ii. 177) occurs only in the SHREW, TIMON, and OTHELLO.
27. *Junkets* (III. ii. 250) occurs in no other Shakespearean play. It is found thrice in Chapman—FROGS AND MICE: Poems, p. 272*b*; 6th Odyssey, 106; BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, II. ii. 6.
28. *Unexperienced* (IV. i. 86) is found only in the SHREW. It occurs in Chapman's part of HERO AND LEANDER (iii. 7).
29. *Incomparable* (IV. ii. 98) occurs in TIMON, 3 HENRY VI, and HENRY VIII. Chapman has the word in the preface to his translation of Musæus; EPIODIUM:

Poems, p. 166*b*; title of short poem appended thereto: and pref. to the Iliads.

30. *Ruffling* (IV. iii. 60) occurs only in the SHREW. Chapman has *ruffle* (vb.) in THE GENTLEMAN USHER (II. i. 251). The noun, it will be remembered, occurs in the COMPLAINT, with a similar force.
31. *Pittance* (IV. iv. 61) occurs only in the SHREW. Chapman has the word in the 11th Iliad, 547, and in BUSSY D'AMBOIS, II. i. 15.
32. *Parsley* (IV. iv. 101) comes only in the SHREW. Chapman has it in the 2nd Iliad, 688.

To this list of clues, pointing mostly to Chapman, should be added two which connect the SHREW with TITUS ANDRONICUS. In that play (V. ii. 66) occurs the phrase, "miserable, mad, mistaking eyes"; and in the SHREW (IV. v. 45, 50) we have "mistaking eyes" and "mad mistaking." Again, "custard-coffin" (IV. iii. 82) is one of the once-used terms in the SHREW; and in TITUS (V. ii. 189) we have the only other use of "coffin," in the culinary sense, in the plays. When studying the problem of TITUS, I considered that these coincidences might point to Lodge's connection with both plays, on the assumption that Fleay was right in associating Lodge with the SHREW. But, slender as they are, the two clues should be reconsidered with a view to the possibility that Chapman may have had some share in the final patching of TITUS, which has a noticeable number of once-used words found in his work.

Turning back now to the Induction, we find there these further clues:

33. *Transmutation* (ii. 22) occurs only in this play. It is found in Chapman: EUGENIA: Peems, p. 332*a*.
34. *Contain* (= restrain) i. 100. This word is nearly always used by Shakespeare in the modern sense of "en-

close.” In Chapman it is often found in the sense of “restrain.”

35. *Studded* (ii. 44) occurs only in the SHREW. Chapman has “silver-studded sword” in his first version of the second Iliad, 43; and “golden-studded” in the HYMN TO VENUS: Poems, p. 305a.
36. *Basin*, which occurs twice in the Induction, is found only in TITUS and TIMON among the other plays. Chapman has it, as above noted.
37. *Workmanly* (ii. 62) occurs only here in the plays. It may be compared with his use of *artly*, *lawyerly*, and of *workmanship*.

As the foregoing have been noted upon a single search, there are doubtless many other once-used words in the play: indeed I learn from Professor Bond's introduction to his edition in the “Arden” series that Mr. Marshall found 142, reducible to 115. But those will include the Latin and Italian words, which need not detain us. On the other hand, I would respectfully demur to Professor Bond's acceptance of the old thesis of Simpson as to the significance or non-significance of *all* once-used words, no less than to his assumption that Shakespeare's share in the play has been satisfactorily assigned. He writes:

Mr. R. Simpson's table (N. Sh. Soc. Trans., 1874, p. 115) showed that the proportion of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in *Henry V* (1. in 6), *Love's Labour's Lost* (1 in 7½), *Macbeth* (1 in 8), and many other plays, was far larger; and examination of Mr. Marshall's list shows that 68 of the 115 occur in the undoubted portion (1064 lines), and only 47 in the much larger suspected portion (1449 lines)—while, so far as I can find, only 4 in the former and 2 in the latter are acquired from *A Shrew*—inviting the conclusion, always probable with an author of the largest vocabulary known, that a high percentage of once-used words is argument rather for than against Shakespeare's authorship.¹

I shall have something to say later on the size of Shakespeare's vocabulary, merely demurring here to any pre-

¹ Introduction cited, p. xxxvi.

supposition based on its supposed superiority. But as to once-used words, the argument of Simpson is merely a darkening of counsel. For one thing, nobody has ever checked his count. But he himself admitted that his lists

are not of much critical value, because Mrs. Clarke counts all forms of a word as so many different words, while, on the other hand, she counts all words spelt alike as one word. Thus "see, seeth, seen," are three words; *saw*, the perfect of see, and *saw*, the carpenter's tool, are but one word. . . . But such as they are, the lists necessarily give an approximate idea of the relative number of ἄπαξ λεγόμενα in each of the Shakespearean plays. The result is, on the whole, that it is not the doubtful plays, those written partly by Shakespeare, partly by other hands, which are richest in these rarities. And the remarkable consequence is, that if we take as the truest Shakespearean diction the word-list which is common to all the plays, then the false Shakespeare is much more Shakespearean than the true. In his exceptional vocabulary Shakespeare is much more like himself than his imitators or rivals are like him. Thus if we take Shakespeare's part of HENRY VIII we shall find it has twice more of these once-used words than Fletcher's part; so it is in PERICLES, in spite of the archaisms of the Gower choruses.

Premising that the proposition as to HENRY VIII may be found to point to a third hand in the drafting of that, as we have seen to be the case in PERICLES, we have here to note that the once-used words counted by Simpson not only include, as he avows, all the flections of any verb; they include also all the *names* of persons and places special to each play; and all the dialect-forms, as the Welsh pronunciations in the MERRY WIVES and HENRY V, and *all the French* in both plays, as well as the French pronunciations of English! The result is that his totals are substantially non-significant. Their effect is simply to cancel the just impression of a play's vocabulary, since the MERRY WIVES figures as having 352 special words in 3099, or about 1 in 9, while JULIUS CÆSAR has only 146 in 2440, or about 1 in 17. Of real range of vocabulary, therefore, the indiscriminate statistical method gives no notion. And Simpson himself, while advancing the misleading generalizations above cited, not only avows that his lists

have small critical value, but adds: "I do not question the use which may still be made of crucial words to determine what is and is not Shakespearean. Such words are to be weighed, not counted."

Precisely so; and it is to more or less significant uses of words that I have appealed throughout this investigation. I have avowed that a number even of those given carry with them little presumption of authorship; and, seeing that all the plays have some once-used words, I recognize that a number of these may be Shakespeare's even when he is perhaps rewriting another man's matter. But I submit that *all* the orders of evidence must be weighed and compared; and that it is extremely precarious to take for granted what is Shakespeare's *original* work in any disputed play. Even if the proportions of *significant* specialties in the plays be supposed to work out much the same as the proportions of all once-used words including dialect-forms, flections, foreign words, and names—a thing wholly unproved—assumptions as to origination may still be quite misleading. What if, for instance, the Shakespeare parts of HENRY VIII be recasts of a draft by Chapman? What if the "undisputed" LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST and HENRY V really contain a quantity of non-Shakespearean raw material?

As regards the SHREW, in which Professor Bond finds a great deal more of Shakespearean matter than I can, I am content to leave the case for the present as it is above set forth, being concerned only to show that there are grounds for supposing Chapman to have had a share in the play, and offering no confident theory of the stage or extent of his intervention. The play probably underwent several manipulations; and long ago, without rejecting Fleay's theory as to Lodge, I surmised, on grounds of phrase and vocabulary, that Greene had a hand in it.¹ That I still think probable. He may have shared in *A SHREW*, and

¹ See *Did Shakespeare write "Titus Andronicus"?* 1905, pp. 182-8.

later recast it as *THE SHREW*. The apparent clues to him are numerous, and collectively weighty; and as he died in 1592 there is ample time-room for a later recast by Chapman.

The double problem of *A SHREW* and *THE SHREW* remains elastic for any investigator; and Professor Bond's scholarly introduction indicates all the data. In the old play there are some textual reproductions and a number of obvious imitations of Marlowe; and Fleay, after surmising that Marlowe and Shakespeare wrote the play between them, assigned it to Kyd, one of Marlowe's imitators, on the speculative ground of a passage in Greene's *MENAPHON*, in which a line of *A SHREW*:

Or icy hair that grows on Boreas' ohin,

slightly altered, is put in the mouth of Doron, who is held accordingly to be the representative of the "idiot art-masters" satirized by Nashe in the preface, with special reference to Kyd. It is certain that Nashe's main attack was upon Kyd; but Fleay's conclusion that there cannot be "any doubt that Doron is Kyd" has never seemed to me to be in any way substantiated. Professor Bond justifiably pronounces the theory "thin, to the point of emaciation." In his *MANUAL* (pp. 291-4) Fleay was quite satisfied that Doron was Lodge; and Simpson, who first noted the citation in *MENAPHON*, thought Doron was meant for Shakespeare! Seeing that *MENAPHON* was entered for publication in 1589, we can readily agree with Fleay that Shakespeare is excluded; but if the hypothesis were put that Greene wrote *A SHREW*, and that in *MENAPHON* he was echoing himself, it would be hard to find any decisive rebuttal. The line in *A SHREW* might be a harmless parody of a passage in Lodge's *WOUNDS OF CIVIL WAR*:¹

¹ This would square with Fleay's first theory, that Doron was Lodge.

These looks that for their reverend white
Surpass the down on Æsculapius' chin,¹

as that play is by Fleay himself dated 1587. The wholesale quotation and imitation of Marlowe might have been done by Greene;² to whom, so far as clues of style and word go, I should more readily assign the play than to Kyd; and indeed it is not quite certain that Marlowe himself had no hand in it, though we have small ground for thinking he could or would write a comedy. In any case, there has intervened between the old play and Shakespeare a third and probably a fourth hand, to whose work Shakespeare has added very little. Such a speech as Petruchio's "Think you a little din can daunt mine ears?" (I. ii. 200-11) *may* be his; but if so, it is quite early work. Petruchio's later speech, II. i. 169-82, which slightly suggests him, contains a line:

As morning roses newly washed with dew,

which is a frank adaptation of

As glorious as the morning washed with dew,

in Scene x of the old play; and one suspects the hand of Greene in both. But though Greene may have recast the old play—whether his or another's—shortly before his death, there is still strong ground for the surmise that Chapman developed it further, at an early stage of his play-making career; and unless there can be found new evidence for Lodge, it would stand in the main to Chapman's account. Lodge indeed may have collaborated with Greene on the play before Chapman touched it.

On this view, Chapman had done vamping-work, as might have been expected, before 1596, when he is commonly assumed to have begun to write for the stage

¹ Malone Soc. rep., lines 1865-66.

² Malone suggested Peele or Greene; Knight decided confidently for Greene.

with his *BLIND BEGGAR*. Fleay, who puts this view, is satisfied that Chapman came to town in 1593. How then did he maintain himself? That he adapted or patched plays before he originated any is at least as natural an inference in his case as in Shakespeare's. For the rest, the style of the admittedly non-Shakespearean parts of the *SHREW* is quite comparable with that of Chapman's comedies, which is as simple as his later tragic style is turgid and involved.

§ 6. THE "HENRY VI" TRILOGY

OUR survey of the problematic possibilities would not be even approximately complete if we did not consider the chance that Chapman, assuming him to have been play-patching as early as 1593 or 1594, may have had a hand in working up the HENRY VI plays. Before recognizing Chapman's association with Shakespeare, I had been at considerable pains to ascertain who did the revision work, on the bases laid by Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, being satisfied that only here and there did Shakespeare's hand enter, and perhaps only in Part II. Without going into detail I may say that only in Part I do I see many signs of Chapman; but that there are there signs enough to call for inquiry.

In facing the issue, it has to be remembered that Chapman's early "heroic" blank-verse manner, as indicated in parts of the BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA, is distinctly that of the pre-Shakespeareans, and not at all that of his tragedies, which were written after he had formed his own dramatic style. As Professor Parrott reasonably infers, there was probably a good deal of Marlowese verse in the play as written; much having evidently been excised, at heavy cost to the plot, to give time for the comic matter which made the piece popular. That he should write in the Marlowe manner if he took part in 1 HENRY VI, then, is what is to be expected.

That Marlowe began that play as it stands may now, perhaps, be taken for granted, though Mr. Hart, in his scholarly and valuable edition, in the "Arden" series, saw fit

to rank the Marlowesque matter as early imitative work by Shakespeare. That Greene had a share is not only admitted by Mr. Hart, but proved by him in detail, by many notable verbal clues; to which I may add the item that the scansion "maintain," in I. i. 71, is found in Greene and not in Marlowe. Difficulty begins with the entry of the third messenger, where the style seems to sink; and here it may be that Chapman enters. The word "enrank," here found for the first time, is one used by him (3rd Iliad, 338); and "enacted," which in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE* (IV. i. 348) has the legal meaning, is here and in two other places in this play used with Chapman's force of "acted." But it is in the second scene that the problem becomes most interesting. The lines:

Mars his true moving, even as in the heavens,
So in the earth, to this day is not known,

would by their style suggest Marlowe. As Steevens noted, Nashe put the same point in one of his prefaces; but the versification before us cannot be his; and he probably got his knowledge from this play, to which he expressly alludes. The writer, whoever he was, may in turn have got it from Scot's *DISCOVERIE OF WITCHCRAFT*, 1584.¹ But, as Mr. Hart notes, the form "Mars his" occurs several times in *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*, whereas in the *TEMPEST* and *HAMLET* we have "Mars's." Now, Chapman, whom we have seen reason to connect with *TROILUS*, knew something about the problem of Mars's motions in connection with the Homeric Hymn to Ares, where he calls the God:

To heaven's fiery sphere
Giver of circular motion, between
That and the Pleiads that still wandering been,
Where thy still-vehemently-flaming horse
About the third heaven make their fiery course

¹ "The true motion of Mars is not yet perceived," B. II., Ch. xxi. p. 158. Nicholson's rep. p. 169.

—a rendering that rather minimizes the force of the original, which says that the steeds carry the God "above the third orbit." In SIR GILES GOOSECAP, further, we have the lines (II. i. 5-6):

How to distinguish all the motions
Of the celestial bodies,

in a passage in which the speaker professes to have studied astronomy. When, then, in the same scene-section of 1 HENRY VI we find the epithet "mad-brain'd," which we have already seen some reason to trace to Chapman, our suspicion of his presence is somewhat strengthened, though not, of course, established. The work may still be Marlowe's. But a little further on still we find Chapman's frequent word "audacity," which occurs only here and in CYMBELINE in the Shakespeare plays. So the suspicion persists.

"Gimmors," in line 41, is shown by Mr. Hart to be probably a word of Greene's; but he gives an instance from Dekker (with Greene's spelling, *gimmals*) which, as he remarks, is so exactly to the point as to make Dekker "somewhat suspect" in the matter. Seeing that Dekker's passage was penned long after the play, however, it may well be an echo of that; and Greene's share in the play is indicated at many other points. But in the Pucelle's speech beginning at line 65, though the verse is of a quite early end-stopped sort, there are touches which suggest Chapman, notably the line:

With those clear rays which she infused on me,

which point to so much of his language about light and vision, noted in the first section of this inquiry. Passing over some minor verbal clues, some of which still point to Greene, we have considerable reason to suspect Chapman's hand in the passage (133-5):

Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
Till by broad spreading it disperse to naught.

The old variorum editors noted instances of this thought in Davies's *Nosce Teipsum*, Harrington's *ORLANDO FURIOSO*, Chapman's Epistle Dedicatory to his translation of the Iliad, and elsewhere; and Mr. Hart, whose diligence in collation was above all praise, noted the earlier instance of it in Ovid's *BANQUET OF SENSE*:

And as, a pebble cast into a spring,
We see a sort of trembling *circles* rise,
One forming other in their issuing,
Till over all the fount they circulize;
So . . .

Now, as the passage in the Epistle Dedicatory is to the same effect, it is reasonable to ask whether in the play we have not Chapman using one of his favourite tags. There is only a moderate presumption, but it counts; and when in the next scene, which is more in Marlowe's manner than in Greene's, we find (1) Chapman's tic-word "cuff"; and (2) his word "contumeliously," it is difficult to get rid of the suspicion that the hand is his, though he may be adapting older matter.

It is hard to assign Scene iv, in which the Master Gunner so absurdly informs his own son of his identity; but in line 39 we have Chapman's "contumelious"; and "linstock" (after line 56) is a word of his, as Mr. Hart notes. When we come to Scene v, in which we find six double-endings in the first twelve lines, the natural surmise is that we are reading either Chapman or Heywood, who seem to have been the first practitioners capable of that indulgence. And it seems very possible that the relatively accurate reference to "Adonis' gardens," in Scene vi, which the believers in Shakespeare's classical scholarship take as a proof of his learning, is inserted

by Chapman. Spenser, Jonson, Harvey, and Milton all speak of the garden or gardens of Adonis as spacious and splendid, whereas the phrase, as Bentley pointed out, referred to the trays of herbs prepared for the Adonis festival—an interesting case of "sympathetic magic" in the ancient world. But the phrase was really proverbial, and though scholars like Spenser and Jonson, followed by Milton, misunderstood it, Chapman might have known better. Marlowe or Greene, however, may have known the proverb in the Latin; and as Chapman never uses it elsewhere we have no special ground for assigning it to him.¹ He does not appear to have done more than revise and interpolate the work of the Marlowe group.²

The chief scenes in the play, which alone have seemed to critics like Fleay Shakespearean, are the quarrel of the roses in the Temple Garden and the Talbot scenes in Act IV, which according to Nashe were making a special sensation in 1592. Fleay assigned both to Shakespeare; but, probably realizing that the high percentage of double-endings in the Roses scene made that quite impossible for Shakespeare as early as 1594, afterwards treated it as a later addition. Mr. Hart, who did not attend to metrical tests, rejected this solution, but, I think, on wrong grounds. The scene is, I believe, really by Marlowe, who in his translation of the first book of Lucan reached the proportion of 17 per cent. The style is not Shakespeare's, early or late, and the only alternative claimant seems to be Chapman,³ on the score of his early resort to the double-

¹ The closing speech in the scene appears to be Greene's.

² The phrase "his own arm's fortitude" in II. i. 17, raises the question of Chapman's possible share in EDWARD III, where the word is used (III. iii. 182) with that force. Chapman very often uses "fortitude," generally in its modern sense, but sometimes with the old sense of "strength." But though the Marlowe group do not use the word in their signed work, one of them may have done so, once in a way. Other clues in both passages point to Greene.

³ Heywood, whose FOUR PRENTISES OF LONDON may reasonably be dated about 1594 (see Fleay, *Biog. Chron.* i. 282), does show there some

ending. But I cannot pretend to find either his style or his vocabulary in the scene, beyond the use of his tic-word "exempt," which was in fairly common use, and was employed by other playwrights, though by none so frequently as by him. The next scene, though it is archaic, might be his, but not this.

The Talbot scenes in Act IV I have always found puzzling, being unable to suppose them Shakespeare's or to trace them clearly to any one else. Such verbal clues as "Icarus," "mickle," "well I wot," and "giglot" all point apparently to Greene; but neither the blank nor the rhymed verse seems to have Greene's movement. The rhymed matter suggests Dekker, of whom, however, we have no trace so early as 1592, though Fleay thinks he was at work as early as 1588. It seems barely possible that, as it stands, it is Greene rewritten by Chapman. He never uses "mickle," or "well I wot," but he once has "giglot" (PRO VERE); and "guardant," which for Mr. Hart is genuine Shakespeare, being found in CORIOLANUS, suggests to me Chapman's "guardiance" (22nd Iliad, 436), and Heywood's "guardiants" (RAPE OF LUCRECE, V. i.). On the other hand, it is not impossible that Marlowe, who had taken to rhymed couplets in HERO AND LEANDER, may have chosen to employ them in added scenes of this play.

Beyond this one does not seem entitled to go. In the first scene of Act V we have "immanity," which occurs twice in Chapman, and never in any of the dramatists of the Marlowe group—another reason for surmising that he revised the play; but the Suffolk and Margaret scene is, I think, clearly Greene's. Whether Chapman revised 2 and 3 HENRY VI is a problem that would unduly lengthen this inquiry, with no great prospect of a clear result; and concerning RICHARD III, which equally had a reviser touch of the style of the Roses scene, notably in the speeches of Guy to the Lady of France, in what appears to be the Second Act (Pearson's Heywood, vol. ii. pp. 179-81). But there are few double-endings; and Heywood seems to be here under the influence of Marlowe.

between Marlowe and Shakespeare, I will merely note that one of the most distinct verbal clues to him is in a scene which no one would dream of assigning to him on its merits.

In the dream-parade of ghosts in the tents of Richard and Richmond, the spirit of Henry VI remarks to the former :

When I was mortal, my anointed body
By thee was punched full of deadly holes.

Many people are still content to believe that that was written by Shakespeare, though Mr. A. H. Thompson, in his excellent "Arden" edition of RICHARD III, visibly leans to Fleay's view that the play is primarily Marlowe's. Not even to Marlowe, however, can any considerate critic readily assign the Ghosts. Seeing that Kyd was an early monopolist of these figures, and remembering the opening lines of the Induction to THE SPANISH TRAGEDY, one is inclined to credit the spectres to him. But neither in Kyd nor in any of the pre-Shakespeareans does one find the word "punch." The only Elizabethan dramatist in whose work I have found it is—Chapman! It is in his 6th Iliad, 126 :

With a goad he puncht each furious dame,
And made them every one cast down their green and leavy spears :
This th' homicide Lycurgus did.

After all, the man who penned this line could have penned the other. He uses all the three forms, *pinch*, *paunch*, and *punch*, whereas Kyd has only *paunch*. Were it not that there are other clues to Chapman in RICHARD III, some of them indicated in the course of our inquiry, one would not raise the question, especially seeing that the "despair and die" business echoes FAUSTUS. But the problem is very intricate, and calls for separate and detailed treatment. I will therefore conclude this survey by advancing one or two critical heresies of a somewhat advanced order, which will probably be slow to find friends.

§ 7. "HENRY V"

FROM almost my earliest reading I have suspected that most if not all of the prologues to HENRY V, and a number of the speeches, including the Harfleur rants, are not Shakespeare's. Later study has convinced me that the play is really a recast of a pre-Shakespearean drama, apparently by Marlowe and Greene, of whose phraseology, as embodied in both EDWARD II and EDWARD III, there are plain survivals in this. It is admittedly, in respect of its opening, a companion play to EDWARD III, the initiation of which it closely copies or preludes;¹ and only those who persist in assigning the latter play to Shakespeare will be likely to deny that the academic group who put in drama the three Edwards, and such unattractive kings as John and Henry VI and Richard III, were likely to leave untouched so enticing a theme as the hero-king, the victor of Agincourt. The old play of Tarleton, THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V, was as inadequate to its theme as the old TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD III, and was as certain to be superseded. It could not have been left in full possession of the field till 1599. What concerns us here, however, is not the earlier but the later history of the play. That it was produced pretty much as it now stands by Shakespeare's company in 1599 is certain; and there is unquestionably some of Shakespeare's work in it. The

¹ There are several reasons for thinking that the interim HENRY V may be the earlier play of the two.

versification of Henry's soliloquy (possibly not the matter) is as clearly his as that of the Harfleur rants is not. But who wrote the prologues, to begin with?

Those who recognize that the prologue to *TROILUS* is not Shakespearean are far committed, if they will consider closely, to the conclusion that the *HENRY V* prologues are in the same negative category. They date, as they stand, from about the same year, and they have the same general aspect. I had made many attempts to trace their authorship, finding in one or two apparent marks of Peele, and in others the style of Marlowe, but recognizing always that they showed affinities to one or two of the prologues of Dekker (who, we know from Henslowe's Diary, did an occasional prologue for an existing play) as well as to the *TROILUS* prologue. But the inquiry into Chapman's authorship of the *COMPLAINT* opened up new contingencies. First we have the word “threaden,” in the *COMPLAINT*, reproduced in the Chorus to Act III, which begins with a tag of Chapman's :

In motion of no less celerity
Than that of thought.

“Streamers” is a word of Marlowe's and Peele's, but it is also used by Chapman (9th Iliad, 237). “Rivage” is apparently taken from Hall's Chronicle (ed. 1550 : Henry V, 5 verso, 21 recto), which furnishes several of the once-used words of this play ; but “sternage” suggests the “stonage” of Chapman's translation of Hesiod's *Georgics* (ii), where it is used in connection with the winter housing of a ship. “Linstock,” as we have noted, is also a word of his. And the line :

Draw the huge bottoms through the furrow'd sea,

suggests the “deep-drawing barks” of the *TROILUS* prologue.¹ Even the “he whose chin is but enrich'd With one

¹ On the other hand, we must keep in view the possibility that the *TROILUS* prologue is late. Still, it may be from the same hand,

appearing hair," points to a tic of the COMPLAINT and HERO AND LEANDER.

Turning to the first prologue, we find an apparent echo of Peele in the lines :

Then should the warlike Harry, like himself
Assume the port of Mars,

which recalls his picture of Longshanks, who in EDWARD I, Sc. i,

Like bloody-crested Mars o'erlooks his host.

But though "like himself" is a very weak pleonasm, the verse of the prologue seems above Peele's plane, and suggests Marlowe. And though the "crooked," meaning "curved," in line 15, is an epithet constantly used by Chapman, it is frequently used with the same force by his predecessor, whom he so often imitates. On the other hand, there are such marked resemblances of phrase and idea between this and one or two of the other prologues to those in Dekker's OLD FORTUNATUS that we are bound to ask whether Dekker was the imitator or the originator of those in HENRY V.

That the surmised pre-Shakespearean play had prologues, and that those of our play may be but adaptations of them, is a possibility to be kept in view, to whatever hand we may be finally disposed to assign them. The fifth, which is commonly held to date the play decisively in 1599, referring as it does to the Irish expedition of Essex in that year, may quite well be a modification of an earlier prologue, in which Essex or another may have been acclaimed on another occasion. Peele wrote an Eclogue Gratulatory to Essex on his return from Portugal in 1589; and in 1591 the same leader was sent to France with a force in aid of Henri IV. When, then, we compare the lines about the conquering Cæsar's welcome to Rome with Peele's in EDWARD I concerning

Cæsar, leading through the streets of Rome
The captive kings of conquered nations,

we ask whether the prologue may not be primarily his. But if there was adaptation there may have been recomposition; and there are several word-clues to Chapman, notably his frequent "ostent," and the word "whiffler," which, occurring nowhere else in the Shakespeare plays, is found four times in his signed works (*MONSIEUR D'OLIVE*, III. ii. 167, 176; *WIDOW'S TEARS*, II. iv. 104; *Lines to Fletcher*, 8). And undoubtedly the bulk of the prologue is much more like Chapman than Peele. But the word "whiffler" occurs in a stage direction of *SIR CLYMON* and *SIR CLAMYDES*, ascribed (though disputedly) to Peele; and we are still left querying whether he were not the originator. If there is one of the five which might be supposed to have been rewritten by Shakespeare, it is the fourth, where the proportion of double-endings is so noticeably small—only two in 53 lines; and there it is hard to believe that he is the originator. But though

the cripple tardy-gaited night,
Who, like a foul and ugly witch, doth limp
So tediously away,

suggests Marlowe, as do some of the other prologues, the vocabulary gives no very notable clues, and Dekker is about as likely an alternative as Chapman, though some half a dozen words suggest the latter. In the second prologue, noting the lamentable pun on "gilt" and "guilt" as an offence committed elsewhere by Chapman, we are reminded that the same sin lies at Shakespeare's door in *MACBETH*, unless it be there the work of the mangling Middleton, or whoever else it was that mutilated that tragedy.¹ But this prologue as a whole is distinctly archaic in style.

¹ One of the spurious witch-scenes has word-clues to Chapman, as *affairs, contriver, vaporous, sleights*. There are some also in the spurious second scene, notably in the inversion in the first speech. *Cauldron*, which occurs only in this play in Shakespeare, is a very common word in Chapman; and "double double" is a phrase of his (*15th Iliad*, 439). It is at least worth considering whether he, who seems to have done so much patchwork for Shakespeare's company, had a hand in the alteration of *MACBETH*.

Concerning the play in general, it must here suffice to speak summarily. It is metrically anomalous in that its proportion of double-endings is higher than that of JULIUS CÆSAR, which is dated later; and when we study it scene by scene the anomaly is found to be heightened. The visibly Shakespearean verse, such as the speech of Canterbury on the honey-bees, and the soliloquy of Henry, has few double-endings; the first yielding only two in 38 lines, and the second 5 in 55 lines, three occurring in respect of the word "ceremony." In the opening scene, on the other hand, there are 23 in 97 lines; in Act II, Scene ii, the percentage is over 29; in Scene iv, it is nearly 30; while in the two Harfleur rants it is 25 and 21.4.¹ Throughout, apart from the two speeches specified, the versification is markedly inferior to that of 1 HENRY IV, which is prior in date; and the moral quality of the rants is as archaic as the diction.

That the Harfleur rants are third-rate Marlowe is suggested alike by their diction, their purport, the psychological affinity of the first (III. i.) to some of the writing in 2 HENRY VI, and the moral affinity of the second (III. iii.) to much of TAMBURLAINE. Several clues of phrase and once-used words in I. ii. again, point to both EDWARD II and EDWARD III, no less than does the marked duplication of the method of introduction to the latter play. So far, most of the clues are to Marlowe, who can be clearly traced in EDWARD III, though, as Greene is certainly present there also, he may have been a collaborator in the pre-Shakespearean HENRY V. Elsewhere in the inferior speeches there is reason to suspect the hand of Marlowe, as in the lines (II. iv. 9-10):

¹ If it be urged here that in 2 *Henry IV* the percentages suddenly rise after the third Act from 18 to 25, 23, and 28, I answer that for that sudden increase there is needed some explanation. The *style* certainly does not strengthen as compared with 1 HENRY IV and Act I of Part II. This is another evaded problem.

For England his approaches makes as fierce
As waters to the *sucking of a gulf*,

which points to the “sucking shore” in the translation of Ovid’s *Elegies*, II. xi. 14. On the other hand, the proportion of double-endings in this scene is exceptionally high; and though the second and third lines:

And more than *carefully* it us concerns
To answer royally in our defences,

noticeably echo two in *TITUS ANDRONICUS* (IV. iii. 27–8):

Therefore, my lord, it highly *us concerns*
By day and night to attend him *carefully*,

and thus support the inference of early workmanship, it is as difficult to ascribe to the authors of *TITUS* a scene with 30 per cent. of double-endings, as it is to suppose Shakespeare attaining that proportion in 1599, in a scene so immature and in parts so poorly written as that before us. If there is an early substratum there has been a revision by a writer who multiplies double-endings; and again the choice seems to lie between Chapman and Heywood. As the latter might be supposed to be indicated by the word “sonance” in IV. ii. 35, the hand here might be his; and it is only phrases like “womby vaultages” that make me suspect that of Chapman. “Vaulty” is one of his words; “womb” is one of his common metaphors; and the combination is very like him. “Sonance,” too, may possibly have been used in the early play; and the whole scene in which it occurs, with its three double-endings to 63 lines, strongly suggests Marlowe. Alike in respect of low and of high proportions of double-endings in this play, we find ourselves faced by non-Shakespearean work, and the problem is to trace the early and the late hands.

It is in Act V, Scene ii, that Chapman is most clearly suggested by the verbal clues. There, with 27 per cent.

of double-endings, we have quite a cluster of once-used words—*congregated*, *fumitory*, *coulter*, *savagery*, *kecksies*, *burnet*, as well as *deracinate*, which occurs only in *TROILUS*, and *leas*, occurring in Chapman and in the dubious masque in the *TEMPEST*. Now, *coulter* is found twice in Chapman's translation of Hesiod; and the epithet "freckled" (line 49, found also in the *DREAM*) is one which occurs at least ten times in his works, in all manner of applications. "Reduce" (=bring back: line 63), which occurs only here and in *RICHARD III* in the plays, is also used by him, as by Marlowe. "Defused" or "diffused" (line 61, = confused) is in the same case; and this word too is used by Chapman. In the speech of Queen Isabel at the end of the Act, again, with its five double-endings to eight blank-verse lines, we have "spousal," which occurs only here and in the spurious *TITUS*, but is common to Marlowe and Chapman.

The versification of the speech of Burgundy may have been revised by Shakespeare; but the double-endings are not reasonably to be assigned to him; and the vocabulary, as we have seen, distinctly suggests Chapman. And his hand is the more readily suspected here because we may with some confidence assign to him the scene between Henry and Katharine, as well as that in Act III between Katharine and Alice. Both are unworthy of Shakespeare; both are on the plane of Chapman's weaker comedy-work; and both are likely to come from him, who, as we know, read French.

Turning back to the first scene of the first Act, with its 23 per cent. of double-endings, its didactic evolution, and its feeble finish, we are led there also to suspect the hand of Chapman, though the special clues are few. *Indigent* (line 16), a one-play word, is used by Chapman. "Gordian knot," which occurs only here and in *CYMBELINE* in the Shakespeare plays, is to be found thrice in Greene, but also thrice in Chapman; and *Hydra-headed*, *currance*, and

crescive, all once-used words, suggest his mint; ¹ as does *defunction* in Scene ii,² line 58; though Shakespeare has probably revised the verse throughout, as he certainly did in the discussion on the honey-bees, which is so Chapman-like in method and purport.

Among other word-clues are :

Accomplishment (Prol. i. 80). A one-play word, used by Chapman, *SHADOW OF NIGHT*; *Poems*, p. 12*a*, and elsewhere.

Invoke (I. ii. 104), found in no other play, but common in Chapman.

Bungle (I. ii. 105), also a one-play word, and found in Chapman, *REVENGE OF BUSSY*, III. ii. 166.

Shipwreck (V. v. 8), found in *TITUS* and twice in *PERICLES*, also common in Chapman, to whom it may be assigned in *PERICLES*.

Pedigree (II. iv. 90), found only in 1 and 3 *HENRY VI*, also frequent in Chapman.

Captived (II. iv. 55), a one-play word, found in Chapman, *WIDOW'S TEARS*, IV. ii. 75.

Demonstrative (II. iv. 89), a one-play word, used by Chapman, pref. to Reader, with his *SEVEN BOOKS OF THE ILIAD*. He also uses *demonstratively*.

Sun-burning (V. ii. 154), found (as *sunburnt*) in the *TEMPEST* masque and in *TROILUS* (the use in *MUCH ADO* is special), and several times used by Chapman.

Pastern (III. vii. 13), found in no other play, but several times in Chapman (*HYMN TO HERMES*: *Poems*, p. 294*a*; 23rd *Iliad*, 258, 346, etc.).

Pax (III. vi. 42, 47), also a one-play word, used by Chapman, *MAY-DAY*, III. i. 85.

Fallows (V. ii. 54: also *fallow leas*, line 44), found in the *MERRY WIVES*, I. i. 91, and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, I. iv. 42, is also a Chapman-word; 13th *Od.*, 56; 13th *Il.*, 628.

¹ Compare his *fluences* and the *fluxive* of the *COMPLAINT*. But *crescive* was used by Drant in 1568.

² Founded on Holinshed.

Windpipe (III. vi. 45), occurs elsewhere only in TIMON, where we have seen reason to assign it to Chapman.

Fluent (III. vii. 36), a one-play word, used by Chapman twice. He also has it as a noun, sing. and pl.; also *fluences*.

Intellectual (III. vii. 48), occurs elsewhere only in the ERRORS. Used at least four times by Chapman.

Relapse (IV. iii. 107), found elsewhere only in PERICLES, but used by Chapman, HYMN TO CHRIST: Poems, p. 146, and twice elsewhere. The line

Killing in relapse of mortality

has an extremely Chapmanesque ring.

Foughten (IV. vi. 18), a one-play word, used twice by Chapman, who also has *foughten field*.

Disciplines. This plural occurs many times in Act III, Scene ii (Fluellen's "disciplines of the war"), but in no other play. Chapman has "disciplines of war" in the Epistle Dedicatory to the Iliads.

I hesitate to suggest that Chapman had a hand in the comic scenes, and particularly in developing Pistol; but a number of our word-clues suggest as much. "Carry coals" and "concavities" (a one-play word), for instance, in III. ii., both point to double uses in Chapman's plays; and Pistol's peculiar word "rim" (IV. iv. 15) occurs twice in Chapman's Iliad ("belly's rim," v. 538, 856). In any case, that part of the play is problematic. Two other problems are raised by the forms *fracted* (noted in TIMON), and *executors* = executioners; both found in THE DOWNFALL OF ROBERT EARL OF HUNTINGTON, by Munday, which Henslowe's Diary dates February 1597-8:

The carnifex or *executor*, riding on an ill curtal, hath titubated or stumbled, and is now crippled, with broken or *fracted* tibiards.

Act II. Sc. ii. ed. Collier, p. 37.

As Chettle was afterwards paid for "mending" this play,

which was not printed till 1601, the passage may be an addition by him; but it would be odd if he chanced to take two of the once-used words of HENRY V for a passage in which he was poking fun at stilted terms, when one of them had itself been humorously used, and the other occurred in a passage of generally fine and pure diction. And when we find in Munday's play, and in the sequel play on the death of Huntington, these two lines:

And make the green sea red with Pagan blood
(*Downfall*, IV. i. : ed. Collier, p. 68);

The *multitudes* of seas dyed red with blood :
(*Death*, II. ii. : ed. Collier, p. 50);

—both printed before the date commonly assigned to MACBETH, with its

The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red—

we are compelled to ask whether Fleay was not right in positing an early MACBETH, or whether Shakespeare made his lines on those.

That many hands had dealt with HENRY V before it was staged in its present form in 1599, is the conclusion forced upon us by any careful analysis.¹ And it might be an interesting task for any student, after reading Henry's soliloquy in Act IV, Sc. i, to assign to its true author the

¹ The word *legerity*, found only in this play in the Concordance, is used by Jonson in *Every Man Out* (II. i.), which also belongs to 1599. Jonson uses it farcically: in our play it is used seriously, so that he is presumably not the first. Like so many of the new words of the time, it is from the French. Jonson and Chapman concur in using a number of unusual words, as evert, extrude, flexure, fluxure, confluence, embrion, premonish, hieroglyphic; and a large number of words found only once or seldom in Shakespeare. Some, too, of the once-used words in Shakespeare, not noted by me in Chapman, occur in Jonson, e.g. “apperil,” in *Timon*. We may infer that he and Chapman noted each other's vocabulary. Jonson's seems about as large as Chapman's.

utterly different versification of his "Crispian" speech in the third scene. If the inquirer should decline to assign it to any one but Shakespeare because it contains the phrase "household words," he will please many people, but will perhaps make a judicious posterity grieve. It should be noted that the *idea* of the speech is that of the scene in JULIUS CÆSAR in which the conspirators predict that their deed will be renowned among posterity. It may therefore, like that, be pre-Shakespearean in origin. But the high proportion of double-endings (23 per cent.) indicates later work; and an original speech by Peele (whose style is rather strongly suggested), recast by Chapman, may be the solution.

A final ground for surmising his hand in this play is the occurrence of the phrase "Your understanding soul" (I. ii. 15). Compare :

There rules in thee an understanding soul.

20th Odyssey, 362,

and the variants in 14th Od. 699; 23rd Od. 22; Hymn to HERMES: Poems, p. 299*a*; and TEARS OF PEACE, p. 122*b*.

§ 8. THE EARLY COMEDIES

I HAVE more than once maintained that the first two scenes of the COMEDY OF ERRORS, the first showing only 2 per cent. of double-endings and the second 24, cannot be from the same hand at the same time; that the second, with its poor diction and end-stopped lines, cannot have been written by Shakespeare at the stage at which he reached the higher percentage; and that the only solution is a theory either (a) of collaboration or (b) of adaptation of another man's work by Shakespeare. I have further argued that the known abundance of Greene's work, taken with the definite challenge of one of his admirers (after his death) to other unnamed playwrights to deny that they had purloined his plumes, gives ground for the surmise that some of Shakespeare's comedies are recasts of Greene's. And two plots which particularly savour of Greene, as revealed in his romances, are those of the TWO GENTLEMEN and ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

The ERRORS, on the other hand, with its Plautian basis, might be anybody's play, Greene's or another's; and the bits of archaic verse hint at a quite old Elizabethan foundation. There are some things which suggest Greene, such as the name "Duke Menaphon" (V. i. 368), and the word "disannul," which occurs only in this play and in 3 HENRY VI. But there are more which point to Chapman; and as Greene cannot have produced a scene with 24 per cent. of double-endings, we must look for a later writer to account for them. Both matter and vocabulary suggest Chapman. Such one-play words as *inquisitive*

(twice), *defeature* (twice), *apparently*, *carcanet*, all point to him. The first, it will be observed, occurs in both the first and second scenes, as if Shakespeare, who never uses it again, had here noticed it in the manuscript before him. "Carcanet" occurs at least six times in Chapman's signed work. "Intellectual," which occurs only here and in HENRY V; and "vestments," which occurs only here and in TIMON, are Chapman's words; and the speech (II. ii. 78):

Why is Time such a niggard of hair, being, as it is, so plentiful an excrement?

with the phrase (line 111) "Who wafts us yonder?" are two marks of him which raise the question whether he did not write this scene. And though Adriana's speech to the wrong Antipholus, in the next section of it, seems to have been written by the young Shakespeare, the subsequent speech in rhyme, with its line:

Be it wrong, you are from me exempt,

recalls Chapman. The argument is speculative; but the presence of a mass of non-Shakespearean matter is stubbornly clear; and the general resemblance of the style to that of the SHREW invites the inquiry whether the alien hands are not the same in the two plays. The parallelism of the lines:

That like a football you do spurn me thus (II. i. 83),

and

And let him like a football lie for every man to spurn

(11th *Iliad*, 136)

reinforces the surmise; and when we find that so common a word as *housed*, which occurs four times in this play, never again appears in Shakespeare, and that the word is frequently used by Chapman, it is impossible to lay the hypothesis save by the discovery of another hand which has

the required marks in a fuller degree. Among the weaker clues are :

Sapphire, III. ii. 138. Found in the *LOVER'S COMPLAINT* and in the *MERRY WIVES* (V. v. 75), in a line containing the one-play word *embroidery*. Chapman uses both *sapphire* and *embroidery*.

Shameless, V. i. 202. Occurs only in 1 and 3 *HENRY VI*. Chapman has it in his poem, *HEIGHT IN HUMILITY*, and at least nine times elsewhere.

Shipboard, V. i. 408. Found only in the *WINTER'S TALE*, IV. iv. 668. Chapman has the word *a-shipboard* frequently.

Swart, III. ii. 104. Occurs in *KING JOHN*, III. i. 46, and 1 *HENRY VI*. Chapman has the word twice, also *swarth*.

Two words in the opening scene, *exclude* (line 10) and *sea-faring* (line 81), raise, as does *inquisitive*, the question whether Shakespeare rewrote that scene over matter by Chapman, all three being one-play words, and all pointing to Chapman. The plural *bloods*, found twice in the second scene of *PERICLES*, also in *TIMON*, and in *CYMBELINE* (I. i. 1), points in the same direction, as does *incessant*. *Unspeakable*, again, found twice in *TITUS*, does not recur in Shakespeare till the *WINTER'S TALE*, and this too is a Chapman word. Finally, the phrase "the always wind-obeying deep" is very much in Chapman's manner.

The *TWO GENTLEMEN*, once so deeply doubted, is latterly little impugned or discussed. And yet there are strong grounds for pronouncing much of it non-Shakespearean. In Act II, Scene iv, the proportion of double-endings rises to 25; and in Scene vi, as in III. ii, it is nearly 20—surely impossible rates for the immature Shakespeare.¹ These scenes are so much in the spirit and the manner of Greene that only the double-endings cause any difficulty. That

¹ Fleay dates the play 1598-4, and the end-stopped character of the lines precludes its being later work for Shakespeare.

both Marlowe and he rapidly increased their proportion is certain ; but the highest figure I find in his late work is that reached in the Countess scenes of EDWARD III, and that does not exceed 12 per cent. Still, the clues to Greene are so numerous and so valid that even if we infer the revising activity of a later non-Shakespearean hand in the GENTLEMEN we can hardly doubt his prior presence. The opening situation closely corresponds with that set out in his prose tale, GREENE'S MOURNING GARMENT, and among the special marks of his diction, in addition to the groups of lines beginning with the same word, are these passages :

Nay, now you are too flat
And mar the concord with too harsh a descant.¹ I. ii. 93-4.

Whereon this month I have been hammering.² I. iii. 18.

To wreathe your arms like a malecontent . . . to sigh like a schoolboy
that hath lost his A B C.³ II. i. 7-11.

The more thou damm'st it up the more it burns.
The current that with gentle murmur glides,
Thou know'st, being stopped, impatiently doth rage.⁴ II. vii. 26.

Wilt thou reach stars because they shine on thee?
III. i. 156.

Compare :

Why dost thou gaze against the sun, or catch at the wind ? Stars are
to be looked at with the eye, not reached at with the hand.

Pandosto, Rep. in Hazlitt's Sh. Lib. iv. 60.

A star too high for thee to gaze at.
Orpharion : Works, xii. 75.

¹ The *descant* figure is used by Greene a dozen times.

² A common Greene tag.

³ The "malecontent" and the A B C are both Greenisms.

⁴ Both the figure about suppressed heat and the other are common in Greene.

That there has been interpolation for the worse is seen in Act II, Scene vii, where lines 50-57 are an insertion, certainly not by Shakespeare. It is to be feared that Chapman was as likely as anybody else to have added them. From clues which need not be here discussed I have been led to the surmise that Peele had a hand in the original play. But Peele cannot have supplied the high proportion of double-endings, and there is no one else so likely as Chapman. On the ordinary view of the date, the play is early work for him; and in the nature of the case we cannot look for any clear emergence of his own style, seeing how little of that there is even in the *BLIND BEGGAR*. Working over Greene, he would be governed by Greene's manner. But a continuous sprinkling of terms which he affected is at least ground enough for a tentative hypothesis, in the lack of any other solution. On any view, Chapman did not do much for the play, though probably more than did Shakespeare, who is to be traced here and there by speeches such as that beginning: "How use doth breed a habit in a man!" which has a touch of feeling not in Peele's, or Greene's, or Chapman's way, though here too there is probably an old substratum. And, doubtless, Shakespeare developed Launce.

§ 9. "ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL"

IN the early comedies thus far considered, the grounds for suggesting collaboration or revision by Chapman are rather slight on the literary side, apart from those of vocabulary, which in themselves are inconclusive. Plain marks of Chapman's developed style, such as faced us in the *COMPLAINT* and *TIMON*, have in the nature of the case been lacking. It is otherwise with *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*, to which we have had a number of verbal clues in our inquiry. That unsatisfactory play, so likely to have been first drafted by Greene, was certainly not left by him in anything like its present state. It presents the anomaly of a large quantity of prose, long stretches of rhyme, and nearly 29 per cent. of double-endings in its blank verse. Fleay sought to account for these characteristics by pronouncing it ¹ written early—rewritten *circa* 1601-2. But in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, a much riper play, there are under 26 per cent. of double-endings, and in *HAMLET* only 22 per cent.; and to put this play later than those is to ascribe to Shakespeare a marked retrogression in his art.

Ever since Tieck and Coleridge, there has been a general recognition of the "two styles" of the piece; and in 1857 Grant White developed the point at length, arguing that Shakespeare "wrote this play at first nearly all in rhyme in the earliest years of his dramatic life, and afterward, late in his career, possibly on two occasions, rewrote it and gave it a new name; using prose, to save time and labour, in those passages the elevation of which did not require

¹ In Part II of *Shakespeare the Man*, 1881.

poetical treatment, and in those which were suited to such treatment giving us true although not highly finished specimens of his grand style."¹

The avowal of the difficulties is much more impressive than the solution, which obtrudes its inadequacy. For White, ALL'S WELL is the LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON of Meres's 1598 list, renamed. Fleay agreed with him in assigning such rhymed work as I. i. 231-44 to a very early date. But that is *not* in Shakespeare's early manner: it is as compressed and obscure as any of the blank verse; and the same holds of much of the other rhymed matter. As for the identification of the play with LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON, Fleay argued later,² with considerable force, that four allusions in rhyming passages—IV. iv. 35; V. i. 24; III. 333, 336—show the play to have had its present title in its earlier form, since "some of them, at least, belong to the earlier date." But everything turns on the assumption that the rhymed matter in general is early or late Shakespeare, and this has simply been taken for granted. If we recognize the probability that the play contains much of Chapman, alike in rhyme, in blank verse, and in prose, we not only see a possible way to solve the riddle of the mass of rhyme alongside of the mass of double-ended blank verse, but leave open the possibility that the play originally *was* a LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON, perhaps slightly adapted by Shakespeare from a draft of Greene's.

Not that that thesis is necessary; though it is not easy to decide on any other play that would really fit the old title. Fleay's suggestion of MUCH ADO is unsatisfactory: an early version of TWELFTH NIGHT or AS YOU LIKE IT would be a likelier solution. What is important is the solution of the anomalies presented by the existing play, which, as regards Chapman, can perfectly well be dated soon after 1598; whereas any date before 1604 is inad-

¹ Introd. of 1857, rep. in *Studies in Shakespeare*, 1885, pp. 47-50.

² *Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 216-17

missible for Shakespeare in respect of the double-endings, and any date after 1596 is unacceptable in respect of the quality of much of the work, rhyme, prose, and blank verse alike.

The great difficulty is to decide where Shakespeare enters. This is a much more intricate problem than the analysis of TIMON; and I do not pretend to do more here than indicate it. The Parolles of the opening scene seems to me distinctly non-Shakespearean: ¹ his dialogue with Helena is gratuitously and incongruously offensive.² On the other hand, the prose beginning may very well be a revision by Shakespeare of Chapman's work, which is suggested as basis by such passages as:

Laf. Your commendations, madam, get from her tears.

Count. 'Tis the best brine a maiden can season her praise in.³

Count. . . . Thy blood and virtue
Contend for empire in thee.⁴

And in Helena's first speech the vocabulary—*particular, radiance, collateral, sphere, idolatrous* (used only here⁵)—points to Chapman, though the versification does not; while that of her second verse speech does, and does not suggest Shakespeare at all. Thereafter the word-clues to Chapman abound. "Prejudicates" (I. ii. 8) occurs only in this play, whereas Chapman is rather fond of "prejudicate" and "prejudicacy." Other once-used words in this Act, such as *discipled* (I. ii. 28), *enwombed* (I. iii. 150), *captious*

¹ The whole presentment of Parolles strongly recalls Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*.

² Professor A. C. Bradley, in his fine paper on Feste in the Shakespeare Book of Homage, speaks of the "foul-mouthed" Clown of *All's Well*, but does not say whether he thinks him Shakespearean.

³ See above, p. 72. As before noted, the same phraseology occurs in Scene i of *Twelfth Night*. It would be odd if Shakespeare of his own accord used Chapman's poor tag in both cases.

⁴ See above, pp. 69-71.

⁵ Chapman uses this word at least thrice: *Revenge of Bussy*, IV. iv. 21; Ep. Ded. to *Shadow of Night*; and *Hymnus in Noctem*, § 18.

and *intenable* (l. 208), and the phrases “the many-colour’d Iris,”¹ and “render’d lost,” all point to Chapman, who has such forms as “render cheer’d,” “render slain,” “render stay,” “render friends,” “render weak,” “render happily directed,” never found in Shakespeare save in this instance. “Embowell’d of their doctrine,” again (l. 247), is a fantasy of phrase much more like him than Shakespeare. On the other hand, much of the verse suggests rewriting by Shakespeare even later than 1602; while such a string of double-endings as this (227-31):

You know my father left me some prescriptions
Of rare and proved effects, such as his reading
And manifest experience had collected
For general sovereignty; and that he will’d me
In heedfull’st reservation to bestow them,

reads like pure Chapman.² Then in Act II, in the scene between the King and Helena, we have first a non-Shakespearean blank verse (beginning, on Helena’s part, with two broken lines), presenting 13 double-endings in 28 lines, or 46 per cent.; and then 80 lines of rhyme, broken by one line unrhymed, and including the rhyme of “minister” and “finisher.” I submit that all this is non-Shakespearean, and that it is either the work of Chapman or a mixture of Chapman and older material.

“Fiery torcher,” strongly suggests the inventor of “torchy evening” (*HERO AND LEANDER*, V. 426), who so often speaks of the torch of the sun or day; and much of the rhymed matter is as like the couplets in Chapman’s tragedies as it is unlike anything in Shakespeare save the spurious rhymes in *OTHELLO* and the play-scene in *HAMLET*, which we have seen some reason for connecting tentatively with Chapman. In any case, the play-scene in *HAMLET* is purposely distinct from the play; whereas here there is no

¹ See above, p. 212.

² As does the string of five double-endings in the Induction to the *SHREW*, i. 182-6.

reason whatever in the nature of the matter for a sudden leap from blank verse into heroic couplets. The quantity of the rhymed matter, in fact, raises a question whether it can have been in the main taken over from the surmised original by Greene, who in *JAMES IV* and in *SELIMUS* has many such transitions, and much rhymed matter.

Some passages strengthen this surmise. The lines :

Ere twice the horses of the sun shall bring
 Their fiery torcher his diurnal ring ;
 Ere twice in murk and occidental damp
 Moist Hesperus hath quench'd his sleepy lamp,
 Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
 Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass,
 What is infirm from your sound parts shall fly,
 Health shall live free, and sickness freely die,

have an old-fashioned quality, though "torcher" smacks as aforesaid of Chapman, and is not found, I think, in any of the pre-Shakespeareans. Might not the passage then have been originally penned by Greene? who in his *ALPHONSUS KING OF ARRAGON* has this (IV. ii.) :

Thrice Hesperus with pomp and peerless pride
 Hath heav'd his head forth of the eastern seas ;
 Thrice Cynthia, with Phœbus' borrow'd beams,
 Hath shown her beauty through the darkish clouds,
 Since . . .

after writing in the previous scene that

Thrice ten times Phœbus with his golden beams
 Hath compassèd the circle of the sky ;
Thrice ten times Ceres hath her workmen hir'd,
 And fill'd her barns with fruitful crops of corn,
 Since . . .

It is clear that Greene would not have scrupled to manipulate such matter yet again ; and now the question arises whether the play-scene in *HAMLET* may not be a survival from the old play by Kyd, and whether Greene, perchance, wrote it ; for there we have the same simple mythological machinery,

and, as already noted, the same kind of rhymed verse as that of ALL’S WELL, with a similar enumeration :

Full thirty times hath Phæbus’ cart gone round
 Neptune’s salt wash, and Tellus’ orbèd ground,
 And *thirty dozen moons* with borrow’d sheen
 About the world have times twelve thirties been
Since . . .

A strong objection is constituted by the fact that in the First Quarto of HAMLET the play-scene begins quite differently, in verse which does not appear to be Greene’s, and might possibly be (though I do not think it is) early Shakespeare. We have our choice of four inferences. Either (1) Shakespeare wrote old-fashioned rhyming passages both in ALL’S WELL and in HAMLET in deliberate imitation of Greene; or (2) those passages are both survivals of Greene, who might very well have collaborated with Kyd on the old HAMLET,¹ and who, as aforesaid, is a likely first draftsman for ALL’S WELL; or (3) Chapman deliberately imitated, both in the play-scene and in ALL’S WELL, Greene’s old-fashioned machinery of phrase in new rhymed lines, which in the case of ALL’S WELL make an incongruous archaic effect; or (4) that Chapman merely adapted Greene in ALL’S WELL and then imitated the effect in the play-scene. Having regard to the Q1 text of HAMLET, the economical course seems to be to adopt the fourth view. It seems unthinkable that Shakespeare should copy Greene’s obsolete manner to such bad purpose in ALL’S WELL; and that either earlier or later he should also use it for an archaistic effect in HAMLET. On the other hand, Chapman, with his fertility of invention, could hardly be reduced to such double imitation either; for if he originated the scene in ALL’S WELL, or drafted the whole, he was merely burdening and weakening the realistic effect by introducing the archaism. Seeing, however, that he is

¹ A theory to this effect several times obtruded itself on me long ago. Greene, I think, frequently collaborated with Kyd.

otherwise abundantly traceable in ALL'S WELL, and that Greene seems traceable only in the rhymed matter, the prose clowneries, and the idiom "for to,"¹ we are still strengthened in the theory that this is a recast by Chapman of an old play which Greene drafted, and to which Shakespeare *may* have done something in his early days of adaptation as well as later. It will be found, I think, that a basis laid by Greene and worked over by Chapman will alone account for all the phenomena alike in the HAMLET play-scene and in the rhymed parts of ALL'S WELL. But to say exactly what Chapman has added to or altered in Greene is not easy.

The second scene of this Act, with its coarse, incongruous, and irrelevant dialogue between the Countess and the clown, raises the same question. It has no wit to suggest Shakespeare; and as a piece of purposeless clowning it could not possibly have been written by him after 1596, or, if written by him in a bad hour of his nonage, retained by him in a play of his own, recast in his maturity. Utterly inferior as it is to the Speed and Gobbo scenes in the Two GENTLEMEN and the MERCHANT, I do not believe that Shakespeare wrote a line of it. Technically speaking, the only excuse for it is to make a pause between the previous scene, in which the King agrees to try the cure, and that which follows, in which his complete recovery is announced. But Shakespeare could never have been driven by such a need to such a beggarly device as this; and I am unwilling to credit such stuff to Chapman, who has nothing so poor in any of his comedies. Again one asks whether it was an item of the supposed old play, retained in the interest of the "groundlings."

Lafeu's speech beginning the third scene will naturally

¹ As this was adopted by Kyd, who has it eight times in ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM, he might conceivably be involved here. But as Kyd's presence in the old HAMLET is certain, and Greene is clearly indicated in ALL'S WELL, it is unnecessary to complicate the question with a theory of their collaboration.

be claimed for Shakespeare, on the score of its religiosity ; but in line 10 we have the word “relinquished,” found in no other play, but used by Chapman ; in line 14 his common word “authentic,” found only in this play, in *TROILUS*, and in the *MERRY WIVES* ; and in line 40 “transcendence,” a word found in no other play ; whereas Chapman has both “transcend” (repeatedly) and “transcendent,” as well as “transcension.” It should be noted, too, that the whole manner of the dialogue between Lafeu and Parolles is unlike anything else in Shakespeare. The aim appears to be a kind of superior clowning, a cheap form of “character acting” in the modern stage sense ; and Lafeu’s final sentence before the King’s entrance, with its pauses,¹ is quite unique in the Shakespeare plays. All the while, Lafeu, setting out with a devout pæan to the supernatural, is lightly gossiping with the knave Parolles ; and when the King enters Lafeu recommences with “Lustig, as the Dutchman says.” Can it possibly be Shakespeare ?

That Shakespeare’s revising hand enters in what follows is very likely ; but again we have a series of alternations between blank verse, rhymed couplets, and prose, the King in one speech passing after eight lines of blank into twenty lines of rhyme, and again reverting to blank verse, in a fashion impossible of associating with the ripe Shakespeare, or, for that matter, with the unripe. These couplets are not at all like Shakespeare’s early verse. They savour alternately of Greene and Chapman ; and there is absolutely no ground for thinking that Shakespeare in his maturity would thus capriciously insert great slabs of serious rhymed dialogue in scenes of blank verse and prose. Chapman, on the other hand, though he never inserts such slabs in a signed play, has the standing habit, in his tragedies, of interlarding his blank verse with varying lengths of sententious rhyme, very much in the manner of this ; and though a foundation of such rhymed matter, such as may

¹ If, with the “Globe” editors, we accept Johnson’s arrangement.

well have been supplied by Greene, is needed to account both for the quantity and for the archaic pseudo-classical rhetoric, such a foundation is, in the terms of the case, just what Chapman might be expected to accept and adapt.

As little ground is there for crediting Shakespeare with the 46 per cent. of double-endings in anything written in his middle period. The blank verse here is not even in his late manner, being largely end-stopped. It is simply another man's work; and to call it a "true though not highly finished specimen of his grand style" is a vain compromise. Any one who will read the opening scene of Chapman's *MONSIEUR D'OLIVE*, with its 43 per cent. of double-endings (24 in the first 42 lines) will see, I think, the real source.

And always the word-clues continue to point to Chapman. "Capriccios,"¹ found only in this play, occurs in his works (*HYMN TO PAN*, 16; *capriches*, *THE GENTLEMAN USHER*, V. i.; *capricions*, *THE WIDOW'S TEARS*, III. ii. 189); "artist," occurring here (II. iii. 10) and in *TROILUS* and *PERICLES*, is, as before noted, a Chapman word; "presumption" (II. i. 54), found only in the non-Shakespearean *HENRY VI* plays apart from this, is frequent in Chapman; "cassock," occurring only in this play (IV. iii. 192), is used by Chapman twice in the 14th *Odyssey* (653, 737) and twice in the 15th (429, 438); and "perpetually" (IV. iii. 314), found as above noted in *PERICLES* and the *SHREW*, is also frequent in his work. "Real," seen to be Chapman's in the *COMPLAINT*, is presumably his here. "Jeweller," occurring only in *TIMON* and this play (V. iii. 297), we have already traced to the same hand. "Verbal" (V. iii. 137), which does not recur in Shakespeare till *LEAR* and *CYMBELINE*, is also a common word of Chapman's (Annot. 1 to Hesiod's *Georgics*, i; Homer's *Hymn to Neptune*; *EUGENIA*, p. 328b; thrice in notes to trans. of *Musæus*).

At least seven more are worth collating :

¹ *Capriccio* is a personage in the *Mask of the Inner Temple*.

Applications (I. ii. 74). Nowhere else in Shakespeare. Frequent in Chapman: Note 8. to HYMNUS IN CYNTHIAM; OVID'S BANQUET, st. 93; Comm. on B. II. of Iliad, thrice; Comm. on B. II, twice; and elsewhere. In the poem DE GUIANA (Poems, p. 51*a*) it is used in the medical sense which it bears in ALL'S WELL.

Philosophical (II. iii. 2), which occurs nowhere else in the Plays, was not common anywhere in 1600; but it occurs from time to time in Chapman: Epist. Ded. to OVID'S BANQUET; Note on Hesiod: Poems, p. 217*a*, etc.

Embossed: "We have almost embossed him" (III. vi. 107). The word here has the force of "ambushed" or "surrounded": elsewhere in the Shakespearean plays it always means "foam-flecked" or swollen (as a sore). In the special sense which it bears in this play it is used by Chapman at least twice:

Like hinds that have no hearts,
Who, wearied with a long-run field, are instantly embost.
4*th* Iliad, 258.

Embost within a shady hill, the lucerns charge him round.
11*th* Iliad, 421.

Coherent (III. vii. 39). Only here in the Plays, though *coherence* occurs in 2 HENRY IV (V. i. 73). Chapman has *coherents* (pref. "To the Understander" with ACHILLES' SHIELD); also *coherence* several times.

Musics (III. vii. 40). A much more significant item. This plural occurs elsewhere in the Plays only in CYMBELINE, II. iii. 44. It is not so given in the Globe edition, but is so printed in the Folio. Chapman uses it at least thrice: HERO AND LEANDER, 3rd sestiad, 14; Hom. Hymn to Apollo: Poems, p. 281*a*; MONSIEUR D'OLIVE, I. i. 26. In this scene the verse

is not Shakespeare's: it is sufficient to contrast it with the bulk of Scene ii of Act IV to realize as much.

- Rector* (IV. iii. 69). A one-play word. Frequent in Chapman: 5th Iliad, 36; 2nd Iliad, 69; *Sir Giles Goosecap*, IV. iii. 52; REVENGE OF BUSSY, II. i. 38.
- Fisnomy* (IV. v. 42). Nowhere else. Chapman has *Visnomy* twice: ALL FOOLS, II. i. 159; MAY-DAY, III. iii. 126.

His hand thus appears to pervade the play; and though it may be taken as certain that no more than Shakespeare could he have planned such a foul foil as Bertram to such a spirit as Helena, he has never got away from the evil lead that was presumably given by Greene, the inveterate inventor of villainous heroes. But the Parolles action is probably altogether Chapman's, being a construction closely akin to that of Monsieur D'Olive in the play of that title, where, however, the titular character is a mere excrescence on the play that bears his name, even as is Parolles in ALL'S WELL.

Enough has been said, I trust, to present the problem, a full solution of which will be a lengthy undertaking, involving a detailed study of vocabulary, phrase, syntax, and ideas. With the positing of the theory of Chapman's main share in ALL'S WELL, our indication of the Chapman-Shakespeare problem may for the present pause. If it is wholly or substantially astray, criticism should show as much. If it is in any measure sound, independent examination should lead to further elucidations. The whole of the ground has not even yet been outlined, for the MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR has been indicated by a number of word-clues in our progress as a play in which Chapman may have shared; KING JOHN is slightly brought into question; and HENRY VIII is indicated in the same fashion, as regards the Shakespearean portions. These,

too, are problem plays, though there has not so far been any recognition in the first and second of "two styles." But that is not a matter of much importance; and enough has already been said, I fear, to elicit an abundance of objection, if not of censure. On that head I will say something in conclusion.

EPILOGUE

THE case for Chapman's authorship of *A LOVER'S COMPLAINT* is, I think, made out decisively; and the case for his origination of *TIMON* substantially, though, by reason of the very nature of the problem, with less obvious completeness. The possibility that there may have been a later hand, and even that the work of prior hands may still be present, involve a larger measure of doubt. In regard to the other theses advanced or broached, the measure of proof is avowedly in various degrees inferior; though in all the cases in which I have made a somewhat confident affirmation I could extend the evidence, and may hereafter do so. In the meantime I invite competent criticism.

All such theses as those above advanced are sure to elicit from many readers—if, that is, many readers chance to see them—a quite spontaneous opposition, in which denial is first posited, and arguments are sought for, if at all, afterwards. It is apt to be hastily inferred that any elimination of matter from the Shakespeare Canon means a diminution of Shakespeare's glory. Yet there could be no greater misapprehension. So far as I know, no attempt at such elimination¹ has ever touched any save inferior or second-rate work²—a circumstance which might set objectors thinking. Of course there may be dispute as to

¹ I entirely exclude, of course, Baconist and other "anti-Stratfordian" theses.

² The best piece of work in the Shakespeare plays which I would assign to another hand is Clarence's dream in *Richard III*, which appears to me to be clearly Marlowe's.

what is inferior work: the late Dr. Furnivall was much disturbed when the Cambridge editors suggested that Hamlet's "cloud and camel chaff" of Polonius, among other things, was part of the old play and not of Shakespeare's new writing. But nobody, I think, ever impugned one of the great plays as a whole, or a really great speech in any. And this means that no one has ever seen anything more beautiful in any contemporary Elizabethan's work than Shakespeare's. It is always by his sheer superiority that he is or can be finally discriminated. But still men chafe at every suggestion of discrimination.

The beginning of the trouble is that so many people start by reading uncritically whatever is called Shakespeare, and end by idolizing it all, to the point of finding beauties in *TITUS ANDRONICUS* and nobility in the worst bombast of *HENRY V*, some of it comparable to the eloquence of a German journal over a Zeppelin raid. Of such idolatry the outcome is final blindness to Shakespeare's supreme power. Such readers cannot rightly know its magic quality, because they are inured in admiration of matter which wholly lacks that attribute. I will undertake to produce from the work of Munday and Chettle, Peele, Greene and Kyd, to say nothing of Chapman and Webster and Marston and Jonson, scores of pages which could easily pass muster as Shakespearean for the idolaters if they found it all bound up with his works. The *vin ordinaire* of the Elizabethan drama is for them indistinguishable from the vintage of the Master.

But that is not the only trouble. Even among students who can distinguish between styles, there operates the conservative habit which blindly cherishes the traditionary canon. Thus we find good editors, who recognize the general inferiority both of matter and manner in the spurious historical plays, contending nevertheless for the Shakespearean character of these, either in whole or in part, in the teeth of their own evidence. They argue,

justly enough, that we must not suppose Shakespeare necessarily incapable of bad work; and they see fit to classify a quantity as the yield of his apprenticeship. But inasmuch as their tests are traditionary and not truly critical, they tend to miss the issue. The real question is as to the *kind* of inferior work that is genuine. Shakespeare's work has certain faults at the height of his power; and different faults in his immaturity. A style without faults, in fact, would be a style without much power or character—"faultily faultless." But all along he has qualities of beauty and power and charm which other men lack; and always his qualities transcend theirs. In battling for quantity, in clinging devotedly to the whole canon, the conservatives are simply impairing its credit for quality.

As a result of this attitude and practice, there has grown up a further apprehension, now to be considered, lest Shakespeare's distinction should suffer from a transfer to other men of the originating share in any of the works hitherto regarded as either wholly or mainly of his planning and shaping. It is being reluctantly conceded, after a hundred years of dispute and resistance, that not merely are most of his plots borrowed, but in certain cases he has retained large parts of other men's plays. When this fact is dubiously faced in regard to the HENRY VI group and HENRY VIII, there seems to be a doubled reluctance to go further, as in the instance of Furnivall's flurry over HAMLET. There will probably be less resentment over any given apportionment of TIMON and PERICLES, since the former is an unpopular and the latter in large part an objectionable play; but as to TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, I fear, even the general critical perplexity over the whole will not preclude indignation at the theory that the finest *writing* in it is really a rewriting by Shakespeare of another man's draft. And though every sensitive reader winces over ALL'S WELL, and most qualified critics have recognized in it "two styles," I have no doubt that I incur

opprobrium by explaining the anomalies of the piece as the phenomena of a vamped Chapman play (with probably a large nucleus of Greene) partially rewritten by Shakespeare.

It may perhaps serve to limit the confusion of the debate if I briefly indicate my own attitude towards the feeling—as distinct from the reasoning—involved in such resistance. It seems to me to grow out of the habit of admiring Shakespeare for the wrong things. There is really no high merit, though there is *some* merit, in sheer literary fecundity as apart from inspiration; and neither is there any rare merit in the faculty of plot-making. That faculty has been possessed in a high degree by men like Scribe, who have added nothing to great literature. Shakespeare, so far as I can see, never concerned himself about the invention of plots. He knew they were plentiful as blackberries: what he was interested in was simply the selection of themes which would “draw” well on the stage; and what he put out his strange power upon was the creation of living figures, speaking a living yet beautifully idealized speech, in whatever story or history he selected. Being a practical playwright, trained on the stage, he knew better than most men that a play must move in a certain way to secure a good total effect; but, obliged as he was to find new subjects year after year, he had frequently to handle faulty plots, just as they came in his way.

We are partly helped to realize the process by our fuller knowledge of the case of Molière. Like Shakespeare, “servile to all the skyey influences,” that great dramaturge took plots and persons, lines, scenes and situations, from classics or *vieux bouquins*, personal recitals, treatises, or current plays. As Sainte-Beuve notes, he went to “Plaute et Terence pour des fables entières, Strapparole et Bocace pour des fonds de sujets, Rabelais et Regnier pour des caractères, Boisrobert et Rotrou et Cyrano pour des scènes,

Horace et Montaigne et Balzac pour de simples phrases : tout y figure ; mais tout s'y transforme, rien n'y est le même. Là où il imite le plus, qui donc pourroit se plaindre ?" The very power of assimilation, in fact, may be one of the forms of originality. "Molière, le plus créateur et le plus inventif des génies, est celui peut-être qui a le plus imité, et de partout."

It is true that Sainte-Beuve makes the further pronouncement : "Une marque souveraine du génie dramatique fortement caractérisé, c'est, selon moi, la fécondité de production," his view being that any fairly gifted mind may make one good novel, or even one good drama, out of its own experience, but not more : fecundity is the mark of a great gift. But this is surely an ill-considered verdict. An immense fecundity does not put Lope de Vega or Alexandre Hardy on the same plane with the great masters. The fecundity of these men, and of Molière and Shakespeare alike, is an economic phenomenon : they were all "in the business," writing for a living ; but genius and mere talent alike may go with large productivity, which therefore is no "marque souveraine." To say that because the most commonly acclaimed Masters are prolific, no man with a great dramatic gift can have failed to be prolific, is merely to reason in a circle. It is true that *variety* of production tells of *range* of gift ; but the faculty for variety may remain latent in the man of one play, merely because no economic call has been made upon it. Heinrich von Kleist is a greater dramatist than Scribe. Le Sage, who wrote one good comedy, might have written fifty. Sainte-Beuve himself accepts the verdict of Voltaire, that "quand Molière n'auroit fait que *l'Ecole des Maris* il seroit encore un excellent comique."

And this is our answer to the objection that in making Shakespeare indebted to others for drafts either of plays or of persons we are lessening his credit for genius. With a rarer, greater, and finer faculty than Molière's, he was yet related

like Molière to his environment; like him he "found his property everywhere"; and like him he was primitively free of the modern scruple about literary borrowing. But indeed, the notion that there can be an absolute "invention" either of plots or of characters is in itself a psychological fallacy. *All* dramatic "creation" is but re-creation, whether the dramatist takes his persons from history, from legend, from previous plays or fictions, or from his own inner world of vaguely or clearly remembered people. How little is to be achieved by mere invention without the genius for portraiture may be realized by any one who will seek to differentiate the minor characters in Jonson's *SEJANUS* or to analyse those of his *CYNTHIA'S REVELS*. Shakespeare was not the man to spend his powers in personifying mere foibles or characteristics, or in a mere quest for a plot which no one else had handled.

The traditional or orthodox conception figures him as a leisured student who for the most part selected themes from the romantic and historical literature of his time and thoughtfully built up whole plays on these. This I take to be a serious misconception. Shakespeare was not a leisured artist. He was an actor-manager, who did regular theatre work through nearly all the period in which he wrote or adapted plays; and as I have never seen an actor who, starting with an originally high artistic faculty, retained it long intact as a manager, I do not believe that even Shakespeare was either a powerful actor or a dramatist deeply and habitually absorbed in play-construction. Long ago, Steevens, an accomplished though perverse Shakespearean scholar, committed himself to the proposition that "a time may arrive in which it will become evident, from books and manuscripts yet undiscovered and unexamined, that Shakespeare did not attempt a single play on any subject till the effect of the same story, or at least the ruling incidents in it, had been tried on the stage and familiarized to the audience." At two points,

this theorem outgoes its real grounds, as was Steevens's way. It is idle to forecast discoveries of books and manuscripts yet undiscovered and unexamined; and it is unwarrantable to suggest that Shakespeare's company never produced an entirely new piece. But if we put the modified proposition that Shakespeare rarely produced a play without seeing either a previous version or a draft by another playwright, I think we shall be very near the truth. And I do not think that this view is in the slightest degree derogatory to Shakespeare's genius, on any sane conception of it.

It does not in the least disturb my admiration for him to believe that he worked up *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* from drafts by Chapman and Dekker and Chettle: on the contrary, that solution elucidates for me the mystery of his authorship of—or in—such a piece, and leaves me more satisfied than ever before of his artistic sanity. He handled the matter because it came in his professional way: it was a possible stage-play on a celebrated theme, and he spent upon it some of his highest faculty; turning into magnificent verse the didactics of Chapman, whose blank verse is rarely more than stiffly strenuous and explosively powerful; and rapidly limning, as no one else could do, pictures of *Cressida* and *Diomed* and *Troilus* which survive all the incongruities of their framework. Finally, he left the play unsatisfactory as a whole because it simply could not be made satisfactory—unless we ask for an experiment in the way of the modern ideal of a play that does not organically end, but lets the curtain fall on a continuing situation. It is quite possible that Shakespeare could have contemplated such an effect, though Chapman's use of it in *BYRON'S CONSPIRACY* was not encouraging.

But the fact remains that the story of *Troilus and Cressida* could not yield a finish for the stage; and what the play does is to wind up, lamely as must be, an action which had been made multifarious in order to widen its appeal, and had thereby outgone the artistic bounds of good drama.

And Shakespeare, I fancy, saw all this much more readily than I do. He did what he thought worth doing; and I imagine he shrugged his shoulders over the mess that the others, among them, had made of the story of Hector and Achilles. To straighten that out would only be to make the play still more formless and centrifugal. The Achilles story ought never to have been there: to drop it would be to drop one of the "attractions" of the medley; and so it was cut, or left out, to meet the mere exigency of time.

An illustration of the effect, even among accomplished scholars, of the habit of valuing Shakespeare for the wrong things, I think, is the criticism that has been passed on his portrait of Cressida as a "mere sketch struck off with a few swift, hard strokes,"¹ in contrast with Chaucer's, which is extolled for its more sympathetic quality. Shall we next have an indictment of Lady Macbeth? If Shakespeare's sketch is "hard," then every presentment of a bad character is so. Æsthetically speaking, as regards what is clearly Shakespeare's work in it, it is no more "hard" than his picture of Juliet. It is just true. Chaucer's Criseyde, on the contrary, is not a portrait at all. What he gives us is a tenderly protracted, dreamily detailed, narrative of an episode which yields us no legible character; for Chaucer's Criseyde is finally unintelligible, by Chaucer's own kindly avowal, which in effect begs us not to be hard on the lady, for whom there is really nothing to be said. Chaucer's dream-woman, put in a play, would be a nullity. A drama is not a love poem; and had Chaucer been reborn to write a play for an Elizabethan theatre he would have worked very much more on the plane of his "Canterbury Tales"—with their "hard (!) swift strokes"—than on that of his delicately garrulous and winningly diffuse presentment of the traditional faithless one, whom he simply would not punish, being resolved, for once in a way, not to be hard on a decried woman.

¹ Professor T. M. Parrott, ed. of Chapman's Comedies, 1914, p. 896.

Shakespeare could easily have written a discursive poem on *Cressida* as long as the *VENUS* or the *LUCRECE*: recasting a play, he made a masterly dramatic figure. What does it matter to our estimate of him if the suggestion of such a play came to him from the outside? None of his corrivals could have drawn a *Cressida* to match his. And what matters it to our admiration of him if he got from Chapman a draft of his Ulyssean scenes—the kind of strenuously didactic draft that Chapman would make? Shakespeare of his own accord, I take it, would never have planned these cothurnate discussions, which yield no action and are finally non-dramatic. But, being the greatest of all masters of dramatic blank-verse, he saw fit to transfigure them by the witchcraft of his style. A friend who once saw *TROILUS* semi-officially played tells me that those scenes, undramatic as they are, went successfully because of the sheer charm of the admirable writing. I have no great wish to see the play staged for an effect which I can get better in the reading; but I can well believe that when Shakespeare set himself to lift a didactic dialogue of Chapman's into beauty by sheer greatness of verse he achieved even on the stage a success which Chapman never attained there or anywhere else.

I shall be told, perhaps, that by identifying as Chapman's much of the new vocabulary in *TIMON* and *TROILUS* I am taking away from Shakespeare's credit, the abundance of his vocabulary being one of the grounds on which he is commonly extolled. But poetic or dramatic genius is not a matter of mere abundance of vocabulary; and Shakespeare's supremacy lies not in the number of his words but in his admirable choice and use of them. And what does it matter whence he derived his vocabulary, seeing that he must have derived it somewhence? It will not be seriously contended, I hope, that his status in any way depends on the number of words he is supposed to have invented. If so, there will have to be a stringent reconsideration of the

vocabulary claim in all its aspects; and indeed there had better be a reconsideration in any case.

Dr. Henry Bradley, writing with all the weight of an expert and a thoughtful scholar, in his paper on "Shakespeare and the English Language" in the *BOOK OF HOMAGE*, comments on the familiar statistics of Shakespeare's vocabulary. "I have never met," he writes, "with any account of the methods by which any of these conflicting results have been arrived at, nor do I know who is responsible for any of them." One of them, commonly traced to Max Müller, is understood to have been got by a simple calculation from the Concordance. Some Baconians avowedly hold that it suffices to count the words in that. But the futility of these estimates lies not merely in the lack of any indication as to what is meant by "words"—whether or not it includes all the flections of verbs, all the combinations, all the names of places and persons, all the French words, and all the Welsh and other mispronunciations—but in the lack of any tolerable *comparative* estimate. We want to know whether, *if* Shakespeare used 15,000 words, other men did or did not use more.

I have seen an assertion that whereas Shakespeare used 15,000 words, Milton used only 8,000—a levity of assertion apparently reached by a loose calculation from the Concordance to Milton's *Poems*, as there is none for his prose. Without wasting words on that, I will proceed respectfully to challenge Dr. Bradley's conclusion, which is, that "there appears to be no reason to doubt the correctness of the common belief that the English poet who surpasses all others in the skilful use of words also ranks first in the number of the words that he pressed into his service."¹ Solid reason for such a doubt, I think, will be found in a perusal of Chapman and Jonson, to name no other; and I wish the authorities of the *New English Dictionary* would face the question.

¹ *Book of Homage*, p. 109.

Without attempting a statistic, either for Shakespeare, with the Concordance, or for Chapman without one, I will hazard my strong impression that Chapman's vocabulary is considerably the larger of the two. I have been struck, in studying the Concordance, by the large number of ordinary Tudor words which are *not* to be found in it, and by the large number which appear only once.¹ As hundreds of these occur in plays which are wholly or partly in dispute, the entire question is obviously in doubt. It really matters little how the accurate statistic would stand; but if we are to have estimates on the subject they certainly ought to be made with more concern for the comparative method than has yet been shown.

As to Shakespeare's supposed coinages, we have it from Dr. Bradley that "so far as the evidence goes, he may have been the first user of the words *changeful*, *gloomy*, *courtship*, also of *cerements*, *illumine*, *denote*, *depository*, *impartial*, *investment*. It can hardly be supposed that Shakespeare was the first writer to employ these words; but the fact that no earlier examples can be quoted does show his eagerness to avail himself of any useful innovations in vocabulary." This is very judiciously put; but I will confess to doubting whether the Great Dictionary, especially in its earlier volumes, gives a widely trustworthy account of first uses of words in the Tudor period. I have often mused over its omissions.²

Changeful occurs only in *TROILUS*, and is very likely to be Chapman's. *Gloomy*, in Shakespeare, appears first in print in *LUCRECE*, 803. But it occurs in two much-disputed early plays, *TITUS ANDRONICUS*, IV. i. 53; and 1 *HENRY VI*, V. iv. 89, of which the first, in its present text, was certainly in existence before *LUCRECE*, and was printed early

¹ Compare *The Baconian Heresy*, pp. 504-6, 512-17.

² It overlooks, for instance, Chapman's use of *commercial* in his first version of B. II of the *Iliad*—probably written before 1593; and we have seen that it gives an inadequate idea of the advent of the word *real*. No less inadequate is its record of the uses of *fortitude*.

in the same year. It is safe to say that in its present form it is mainly the work of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe; and that the same authors had a hand in 1 HENRY VI. Further, the word is found in Chapman's SHADOW OF NIGHT (*Hymnus in Noctem*, § 13, 6), which we know to have been read by Marlowe in the early part of 1593. And Chapman may possibly have had a revising hand in both TITUS and 1 HENRY VI. But Chapman is not the inventor. Spenser has the word in the first Book of the FAERIE QUEENE, canto V, stanza 2—surely a well-known passage. But neither is Spenser the inventor. The word occurs twice in the "Ditty" in Greene's PERIMEDES THE BLACKSMITH, issued in 1588.¹ In the same poem, be it noted, we have "canopy of clouds," whereas Dr. Bradley implies that Shakespeare first applied "canopy" to the sky.² I do not suppose that Greene was the first to do so, or that he invented "gloomy"; but he certainly preceded Shakespeare on both heads. Peele, too, has: "Under the starry canopy of heaven" in 1593 (HONOUR OF THE GARTER, l. 6). And Chapman has "canopied with heaven" in his translation of the tenth Iliad (185), which appeared in 1598; whereas Shakespeare first uses "canopy" in this way in HAMLET.

Cerements (*cerments* in the Folio) is a rather doubtful word, never again occurring in Shakespeare; but it may very well be his invention. But it is otherwise with *courtship*. Chapman, who uses the word very often, certainly had it in print before Shakespeare: it occurs in the CORONET FOR HIS MISTRESS PHILOSOPHY (vi), published in 1595; and I would earnestly urge upon the Dictionary authorities that to secure priority for Shakespeare by dating LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST 1588 is to commit themselves to a chronology that will not bear a moment's investigation. Concerning the other words I am sceptical, especially as to *impartial*, seeing that *unpartial* was current

¹ See Dyce's *Greene and Peele*, p. 292b.

² As cited, p. 107.

on the stage in the 'eighties at least. But these, I repeat, are small matters; and I owe too much to the Dictionary to feel otherwise than dutifully towards its conductors. Perhaps, in Centenary year, on this protestation, they will forgivingly accept from me the information that "oneyers" (1 HENRY IV, II. i. 85), which, with the later commentators in general, they declare to be an unexplained word, is simply the old "wonniers" or "wonyers" = inhabitants, which they have doubtless noted in the PRAIER AND COMPLAINTE OF THE PLOWEMAN UNTO CHRISTE of the fourteenth century, printed by Tyndale in 1531 and reprinted in the first volume of the Harleian Miscellany; also in Foxe's ACTS AND MONUMENTS (ed. Cattle, ii. 729).

The print of 1531 gives a short "Table" or glossary, in which are included for explanation some words that remained current in Shakespeare's day as *apayed* (appaid), *blive* (belive), *clepe*, *doom* = judgment—even *desert* = wilderness, and *thraldom*. *Wonniers* is explained as "Inhabitautes or Dwellers," with obvious correctness. It is simply a noun from the verb *to wonne*. At the end of the first paragraph we read: "For to [= until] that cyties ben desolate withouten a wonnyer, and an house withouten a man"; and in the middle of the same paragraph we have: "the erth ys infect of his wonnyers." Now, Foxe in his reprint, though he notes that much of the language is obsolete, and glosses a number of words (the "Table" being either lacking in his copy or dropped by him as inadequate and in part unnecessary), does not gloss this, whence we may infer that it was still current in his day. "Great oneyers," then, is just "distinguished residents"; and here, at least, there has been no invention by Shakespeare. The context of "nobility and tranquillity, burgomasters and great oneyers," makes the matter clear enough, I think. It was natural that when men pronounced and spelt "great ones" as we still pronounce

and spell, Shakespeare (or any contemporary) should spell *wonnyers* "oneyers." He (or whoever wrote the speech) had probably never seen the word printed.

The misgiving as to impairing Shakespeare's statistical supremacy in words, then, is not one which appeals to me. If Chapman, as I believe, greatly exceeded him in this regard, there is no supremacy to save; and in any case it would not matter. Chapman's many words do not make him a delightful artist, or a lord of memory: in his comedies, where his dramatic art is happiest, he has no great range of vocabulary. The question that really concerns us under this head is just whether in the cases under notice, or any of them, Chapman is the source of some of Shakespeare's vocabulary. Having always proceeded inductively in the inquiry, I may here venture to suggest that the formation from the French of the word *deracinate* (which the Baconians describe as a Latinism), one of the few ostensibly first uses of words in the Shakespeare plays, and one confined to HENRY V and TROILUS, is a priori more likely to be by Chapman than by the actor, even though he did lodge with a Frenchman. Chapman certainly read French: he translated Gilles Durant; he informs us that he was accused of translating Homer through that tongue; and though he speaks of it with asperity, he is visibly influenced by it, to the extent of making "discountried" out of *dépaysé*. Of course, if the student believes that Shakespeare wrote the French scenes in HENRY V he will stand up for the coinage of *deracinate* as Shakespeare's. Those who would be thankful to know that the mature Shakespeare did not descend to such elementary trifling as that of the scenes in question may be more open to the other view. Never having believed the scenes to be his, I have no great difficulty in believing they might be Chapman's, though I am not at all sure of it.

The ultimate difficulty for many, I suppose, will be to

accept the theory of a frequent collaboration or literary contact between the two men, alongside of the theory that Chapman had been the "rival poet"; that Shakespeare made fun of him in *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*; and that Chapman had snapped at such performances as the *VENUS and ADONIS*, not on grounds of morality—he was somewhat hopelessly barred on that side—but on the score of commonness of theme and "popularity" of treatment. Having for my own part been, quite subconsciously, so long withheld by my very belief in the early rivalry from detecting Chapman's hand anywhere within the covers of Shakespeare, I can very readily sympathize with objections on these grounds. But I do not think that any one who knows Shakespeare well need be long withheld by such a perplexity. When all is said, Chapman was one of the most remarkable men of letters of his time—the time of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson. In mere variety of energy and effort, mere multiplicity of strenuous production, ranging from successful comedy to cryptic and mystical poetry, he stands out noticeably among his most distinguished contemporaries. Having apparently no means of support after 1593 save his pen, he contrived to produce his translations of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the rest of "Homer," and to give them qualities of power and fire which make them to this day magnetic. Such a man was worth helping. And if I can see it after three hundred years, I really cannot doubt that Shakespeare saw it all along.

Even if Chapman had ruffled him somewhat by his pedantic asperities, he of all men best knew the human struggle behind the "pasteboard portico," the weakness underneath the shining armour of literary bravado. Chapman in one place lets us see how the pang of conscious failure could strike through him in his wasteful battle with the worldlings who baited and exasperated him. In the *TEARS OF PEACE*, the impersonated Power addresses her poet thus:

Thou wretched man whom I discover, born
 To want and sorrow and the vulgar's scorn;
 Why haunt'st thou freely these unhaunted places
 Empty of pleasures? empty of all graces . . .

adding the challenges :

Look'st ever upwards, and liv'st still beneath,
 Fill'st all thy actions with strife what to think,
 Thy brain with air, and scatter'st it in ink,
 Of which thou mak'st weeds for thy soul to wear,
 As out of fashion as the body's are.

To which the poet replies :

I grant their strangeness, and their too ill-grace
 And too much wretchedness to bear the face
 Of any likeness of my soul in them :
 Whose instruments I rue with many a stream
 Of secret tears for their extreme defects,—

making however a plea for his singularity. A man with that side to him would not long be known to Shakespeare without his discovering it; and Shakespeare knew very well the economic side of Elizabethan literary life, with its procession of struggling authors, keeping the wolf from the door by precarious plays. It was by plays that Chapman had to boil his pot while laying his "great bases for eternity"; and he has told how his

enforced breach of the commandment to live without care of to-morrow (which ever carries his confounded punishment with it) distracts invention, necessary even in translation, interrupts the industry of conceit, and the discourse of the soul;

and how he found

"the flood and variety of my native language as it were dumbness fettered in my unhappy bosom; and every comfort that might dissolve and encourage it, utterly bereft me."¹

¹ *Epistle Dedicatory to Essex*, with "Seven Books of the Iliad," 1598.

In another place he speaks of his "shaken brain"; in yet another of his tendency to fall into a state of trance; and many times he tells of his friendlessness in a world which "ever took with the left hand what he gave with the right." Shakespeare would not be slack to help a man so placed, if appealed to. As he puts it in his own limpidly beautiful lines:

The quality of mercy is not strained,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath.

Above all, he had no artistic jealousy, herein transcending alike Chapman and Jonson.

The help he gave by accepting collaboration, or draftsmanship, from Chapman, if our theory be right, was often an artistic tax. *TIMON*, *PERICLES*, *TROILUS*, *ALL'S WELL*, are all unsatisfactory plays, and Shakespeare must have sighed over the tasks they imposed upon him. In comedy, Chapman has real gifts, but little moral judgment and no high charm; and judgment and charm are the two poles of Shakespeare's comedy. The *SHREW* and the *ERRORS*, in both of which we seem to see Chapman adapting the pre-Shakespeareans, were journey-work, Shakespeare's share in which would not much concern him; and *HENRY V* was a show piece then, as now; but he must have known that all he could do would not make artistic successes of the others, which challenged artistic success.

That he laid his hands on them, transmuting where he touched, is the sum of our praise for them. If it can be shown that any others of the later plays owe anything to Chapman, whether in suggestion or invention, it would be rather a comfort for Chapman's sake than a discomfort for Shakespeare's—that is, if we rightly realize wherein lay Shakespeare's greatness, and look to quality, not quantity. If, for instance, Chapman can be shown to have had a share in the *MERRY WIVES*, what does it matter to Shakespeare's

fame? Chapman, we know, could not create the Falstaff of 1 HENRY IV, any more than he could Hotspur; and there is surely more tribute to Shakespeare in surmising a weaker hand in the MERRY WIVES than in accepting its Falstaff as a Shakespearean failure. A number of word-clues point to this solution; ¹ and on general grounds it is safe to say that the humours of Dr. Caius and Sir Hugh and Mine Host, to say nothing of the buck-basket, are much more like Chapman than Shakespeare; even as are the unsavoury prose parts of MEASURE FOR MEASURE, which so notably recall the similar scenes in PERICLES. That the rhymed octosyllabics at the end of Act III of MEASURE FOR MEASURE are not Shakespeare's must have been felt by many readers; and these lines again recall the short rhyming measures of PERICLES.

But enough of critical contingencies. The immediate issue is as to whether Chapman does enter into certain of the inferior plays as above suggested; and it is upon this problem that criticism must or should first concentrate. Let us get first at the main literary facts, and the contingencies will settle themselves.

¹ Compare, for instance, "egress and regress" (II. i. 225) with *All Fools*, IV. i. 287, 317. Neither word occurs elsewhere in Shakespeare. Among the other word-clues are *unmeasurable*, *predominate*, *gnawn*, *ransacked*, *emulate*, *larded*, *enrobéd*, *expressure*, *embroidery*, *characterery*. As for the verse, did Shakespeare write IV. iii. 34?

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